

Annals of 'Omán, from early times to the year 1728 A. D. From an Arabic MS. by SHEYKH SIRHA'N BIN SA'ÍD BIN SIRHA'N BIN MUHAMMAD, of the Benú 'Alí tribe of 'Omán, translated and annotated, by E. C. Ross, Political Agent at Muscat.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.*

The Arabic work from which the following account of the History of 'Omán is translated, is entitled "Keshf-ul-Ghummeh," or "Dispeller of grief." That work, which forms a good sized MS. volume, is not devoted exclusively to the subject of 'Omán, but contains likewise accounts of other countries, and descriptions of various sects of Islám.

Copies of the "Keshf-ul-Ghummeh" are extremely rare in 'Omán; and out of that country I doubt if it is known, I have only heard of two copies existing. That from which I prepared this translation was lent to me by a gentleman residing at Maskat, a member of the Ál-bú-Sa'íd family. The name of the author was not inscribed on the pages, and no one at Maskat seemed able to supply the omission. At length, one of the Kádhís wrote to certain learned persons at Nezwá, who replied that the author was Sirhán-bin-Sa'íd, a native of Izkí or Zikkí.

It would appear that in 'Omán it has been customary with the learned of the priests and Kádhís at times to write narratives of contemporaneous events in prose or verse, chiefly touching religious matters. Numerous records of this class are probably in existence, and from such sources it may be that the author of the "Keshf-ul-Ghummeh" has composed his annals of 'Omán. The first part, however, shows acquaintance with some of the standard Arabian works.

The date of the composition of the work can be approximately stated. The narrative is brought down to the year 1728, A. D., and therefore could not have been concluded at an earlier period. The abrupt manner in which it terminates, tends to show that the work was not written much later than that date. The author of the Arabic work translated by the Rev. G. P. Badger for the Hakluyt Society in 1871, occasionally quotes the "Author of the Keshf-ul-Ghemme" as making such and such a statement. I have not seen the original Arabic of Mr. Badger's author, but by a comparison of the English version with the "Keshf-ul-Ghummeh," I have

* In the following, pronounce *a* as in *bat*; *e* as in *bed*; *i* as in *bid*; *o* as in *obey*; *u* as in *bull*; *á* as in *father*; *í* as *ee* in *deed*; *ó* as in *note*; *ú* as *oo* in *boot*; *ei* as *i* in *bite*; *ey* as in *they*; *ow* as in *cow*; *th* as in *both* (ث); *th* as *th* in *the* (ذ); *kh* corresponds to خ; *gh* to غ; *dh* to ض and ظ; *h* to ح; *ṣ* to ص; *k* to ق; ع is represented by an inverted comma (‘).

been led to the conclusion that Salíl-bin-Razík* copied the majority of the earlier portion of his book *verbatim* from the “Keshf-ul-Ghummeh.” Indeed, when, as occasionally happens, he strays from the pages of that work, the order of events is confused, and many puerilities not observable in the older work are introduced.

The work now translated may fairly be considered, as far as it goes, the most authentic and coherent account of the history of ‘Omán that has emanated from native sources. But almost all native works of this sort have striking deficiencies. Trifling details are dwelt on, whilst comparatively important events are only casually alluded to or dismissed without a word. It is left as a task for European students to sift, prune, and supplement the accounts of native historians, and for this purpose no materials are to be despised.

In the original work, the divisions are similar to those adhered to in this translation; only the numbering is different. The account of the migration of Azdites and their settlement in ‘Omán forms the 4th Chapter, or Book, of the “Keshf-ul-Ghummeh,” and the rest of the history of ‘Omán is found in Chapters 34 to 39 of that work. The intervening portion is on other subjects.

Book I.¹

An account of the immigration of the el Azd² into ‘Omán, and the expulsion therefrom of the Persians.

It is said by el-Kelbi that the first of the el-Azd who came to ‘Omán was Málik-bin Fahm³-bin Ghanim-bin Dows-bin ‘Adnán-bin-‘Abdullah-bin Zahrán-bin-Ka‘b⁴-bin el-Háarith-bin Ka‘b-bin ‘Abdullah-bin Málik-bin Naṣr⁵-bin el-Azd, the Azdí, the Dowsí. Now the cause of his emigrating to ‘Omán was as follows: His nephews, the sons of his brother ‘Amrú-bin Fahm, were wont, when taking the flocks to pasture and returning at evening, to pass by the house of a neighbour. The latter had a bitch which used to bark at them and scatter their flocks, and one of them killed it with his spear. The man, who was under Málik’s protection, complained to him, and Málik being angered, said he would no longer remain in a country where a person under his protection suffered such treatment; and went forth and separated from his brother⁶ against the wish of the latter. Another story is, that a herdsman was set on by a savage dog belonging to a bondsman of “Dows,” and slew it with his spear, on which the owner of the dog slew the herdsman. That upland is named “Nejd-el-Kelbeh.” Málik then went forth from el-Sarát with those of his tribe who bore obe-

* The name of this person was Hamed-bin Muhammad-bin Razík, the designation “Salíl” signifying “son.” He died at Maskat in 1873.

dience to him. When he was well on the road, his camels yearned for their pasture grounds, and turned wistfully towards el-Sarát. But he journeyed on towards 'Omán. And he passed not any tribe of the tribes of the Arabs, of Ma'add or of 'Adnán,⁸ but they sought his friendship, and formed alliances with him, on account of his dignity and the number of his fighting men.

He marched on until he reached Rahút,⁹ a valley in Hadhramowt, where he halted awhile for rest. Then he learned that the Persians were in 'Omán, inhabiting it. So he drew up his forces and reviewed them, and it is said they were upwards of 6000 in number, horse and foot.

They then arranged themselves in order before proceeding onwards to 'Omán, Málik placed his son Honát,¹⁰ or as some say Feráhid, in command of an advanced guard consisting of 2,000 horsemen of the bravest of his army. When they arrived at el-Shihr,¹¹ Mahrah¹²-bin Hídán-bin el-Háf-bin Kadhá'ah-bin Málik-bin Himyar separated from Málik, and stayed behind at el-Shihr. Málik marched onwards until he entered 'Omán with his numerous and well equipped army. He found the Persians holding 'Omán for the king Dárá, son of Dárá,¹³ son of Bahman; and at that time they were the inhabitants of 'Omán and the dwellers therein. In those days their leader was the Marzabán,¹⁴ who was Lieutenant for their king.

Málik drew aside with his followers to Káhhát¹⁵ on the coast of 'Omán, as being a more secure position against the Persians. He there left the families and heavy baggage with a guard to protect them against the enemy's force, and advanced with the remainder of his army; his son Honát leading the advanced guard of 2,000 horsemen. He proceeded in this manner until he arrived at the district of el-Jowf,¹⁶ where he pitched his camp on the plain. Thence he sent to the Persians asking them to allot him land in 'Omán to settle on, with water and pasture, so that he might dwell amongst them. When his messengers arrived, the Marzabán and his subordinates held an earnest and prolonged consultation which resulted in their unanimously deciding to refuse the request of Málik, so they replied: "we do not wish this Arab to settle amongst us, that our land should become straitened unto us; we have no need of his neighbourship." When their answer reached Málik, he sent a message to them, saying: "I must positively settle in a district of 'Omán; if you accord me willingly a share of the water, produce, and pasture, I shall settle in the country and praise you. If, however, you refuse, I shall remain in spite of you. If you attack me, I shall resist you, and if I prevail against you, I shall slay you, and carry off your offspring, and shall not allow one of you to remain in 'Omán." They, however, refused him permission, and prepared to make war on him. Málik on his part remained in the district of el-Jowf until his people had rested, and he prepared for the struggle with the Persians.

Meanwhile the Persians had made ready to attack him, and the Marzabán ordered the trumpets to be sounded and the drums beaten, and set out with all his host from Şohár. It is said his army numbered more than 40,000 men, and some say 30,000, and he had with him elephants. He proceeded towards el-Jowf to encounter Málik, and halted at the plain of Selút near Nezwá. When Málik received intelligence of this, he set out for the plain of Selút with 6,000 men, and encamped opposite the army of the Marzabán. They remained in their respective positions that day without fighting. Málik-bin Fahm spent the night drawing up his forces in order of battle, forming them into right and left wings, and centre, and stationing the horsemen of the el-Azd in position. He placed his son Honát in command of the right wing, gave the left to his son Feráhid, and took his station himself in the centre with chosen men. The Marzabán also was similarly employed, and both sides were prepared. Málik mounted a pie-bald charger, clad in his armour over which he wore a red robe, and on his head was his iron helmet encircled by a yellow turban. His sons and the warriors of the el-Azd were similarly accoutred in armour and helmet, their eyes only being visible.

When the ranks were formed in order of battle, Málik went around and addressed his followers troop by troop, encouraging them and exhorting them to stand firm and warning them that if they fled, they would be pursued and destroyed by the Persians.

The Marzabán then advanced with all his forces under their commanders, placing his elephants in front.

Málik met them with his followers crying out to his men of the el-Azd to charge with him, and to ply the elephants with their swords and javelins.

Thereupon he charged and his men charged with him, and they attacked the elephants with sword and spear, piercing them with darts until the elephants goaded by their weapons turned in flight, trampling under foot many of the Marzabán's men. Málik then fell on the army of the Marzabán with all his men, piercing the ranks of the Persians. The latter rallied together, and the two forces continued to fight with fury, and nothing could be heard but the clashing of their weapons. The battle was kept up the whole of that day until the fall of night separated the opposing armies, and they retired to their respective positions leaving many dead and wounded.

The next day the conflict was renewed and kept up until night, the Persians losing many of their men.

On the third day the battle was again renewed and the Persian commander having been slain by Málik in single combat, the Persian army gave way and fled, losing an immense number in killed and wounded.¹⁷

The Persians then sent to Málík suing for a truce and demanding a year's time to evacuate 'Omán and return to their own country. Málík agreed to this and promised not to molest them unless they recommenced the war. The Persians thereupon returned to Şohár, and Málík withdrew to Kálhát.

It is said that the Persians during the period of this truce destroyed a great many water channels. Suleimán-bin Dáúd had constructed 10,000 aqueducts in 'Omán.¹⁸

The Persians then wrote to Dárá-bin Dárá informing him of the advent of Málík and his followers to 'Omán, and the struggle that had occurred between him and themselves, how his general the Marzabán had been slain with many of their companions. Then telling him of their weak and helpless condition, they asked permission to return to their own country with their families. When their letter reached the king and he read it, he was incensed, and burned with a desire to avenge the slaughter of his soldiers and generals, so he sent for one of the greatest of his Marzabáns, and giving him command of 3,000 of his most renowned warriors and commanders, despatched them to the aid of his subjects in 'Omán. They proceeded first to el-Bahrein and thence to 'Omán. All this while Málík was in ignorance of what was going on.

When this reinforcement reached the Persians, they commenced preparations to renew the war as soon as the period of truce should expire.

When Málík heard of the arrival of the succours, he wrote to the Persians informing them that if they did not quit 'Omán, he would march against them and expel them by force, and seize all their property. But they, confident in their strength and in the comparative smallness of Málík's army, returned a defiant and insolent answer. Málík accordingly marched against them with his whole army and entered their territory. The Persians on their side prepared for battle. When the two armies met, Málík drew up his army as before, placing his son Honát in command of the right, and Feráhid of the left, he stationing himself with the remainder of his sons in the centre. A fierce and prolonged battle was fought, in which the Persians employed their elephants. One huge animal was killed by Honát and his brother Ma'n-bin Málík. After a fierce struggle, the Persians were routed and fled, pursued by the el-Azd horsemen, who slew an immense number and made many prisoners. The remnant of the Persian army embarked in their ships and passed across the sea to Persia. So Málík conquered all 'Omán and took all the property of the Persians. He made many of the latter prisoners and kept them a long time in prison, after which he released them, and caused them to be conveyed to the ships, with their clothing and provisions, and sent back to Persia. Málík then ruled over 'Omán and its adjacent districts, and governed it wisely and well. The

journey of Málík and his sons to 'Omán and their battle with the Persians have been celebrated in many poems and traditions from which I have only given an abridged account. Then came to 'Omán many tribes of the el-Azd. The first of the el-Azd to join Málík was 'Imrán-bin 'Amrú-bin 'Amir-Má-el-Semá with his sons el-Hajr and el-Aswad. From the two latter many tribes in 'Omán derive. Afterwards Rabí'ah-bin el-Háarith-bin-'Abdullah-bin 'Amir-el-Ghitríf went forth with his brothers, also Muládis-bin 'Amrú-bin 'Adí-bin Háarithah came and entered Hudád, also 'Armán-bin 'Amrú-bin el-Azd, then came el-Yahmad-bin Hommá, also the sons of Ghanm-bin Ghalib-bin 'Othmán; and Ziyád or el-Nadab the junior. Then Ma'walah, the sons of Shams, and el-Nadab the senior went forth, also el-Dhey yak, and some of the Benú-Yashkar and of the Benú 'Amíd, and men of Khawáleh. All these tribes¹⁹ went forth, each tribe with its banners. As they journeyed on, they consumed the substance of all by whom they passed, until they reached 'Omán. They extended themselves throughout 'Omán, and settled in its rich and spacious lands. The el-Azd named it 'Omán²⁰, because their dwellings had been in a watered valley in (Yemen) which was probably called 'Ammán, and to which they likened their new home. The Persians called 'Omán by the name of Mazún.²¹ As an Arab poet has said—

“ The Kesrá named 'Omán Mazún,
 “ And Mazún, O friend ! is a goodly land,
 “ A land abounding in fields and groves,
 “ With pastures and unfailing springs.”

The tribes of the el-Azd ceased not to migrate to 'Omán, until they became numerous therein, and their power and fame increased. At length, they overran the country and extended as far as el-Bahrein and Hajar [el-Hassa]. Then came to 'Omán Sámah-bin Loweij-bin-Ghálíb²², and settled at Towwam, which is el-Jow,²³ in the vicinity of the el-Azd. There were also in that place some of the Benú-Sa'd, and Benú 'Abd-el-Keis. Sámah married his daughter to Asd-bin 'Imrán-bin-'Amrú.²⁴ Some of the Benú-Tamím also settled in 'Omán, the Al-Khazá'ah-bin Házem settlers, too, arrived from the Benú-el-Nabat, whose abodes were at 'Obrí and el-Seleyf, and Ten'am, and el-Sirr.²⁵ Some of the Benú-el-Háarith-bin Ka'b came and settled at Dhank. About one hundred persons of the Khadhá'ah also settled at Dhank. Some of the family of Benú-Rú-áheh²⁶-bin Kátí'ah-bin 'Abs came to 'Omán, amongst them Abú 'l-Hishm. The rule of Málík became strong in 'Omán and his wealth increased, and he was feared by all the tribes of the “ Yemen ” and “ Nizar.”²⁷ He was more daring and adventurous than any other Prince. He chiefly resided on the Kálahát coast and at Yankal. One of the Princes of the el-Azd, named Málík-bin Zoheir,²⁸ settled in the vicinity of Málík-bin

Fahm, and being a chief of great renown, well nigh rivalled the latter in power. So Málik-bin Fahm fearing that mutual jealousy and strife might arise between them, demanded his daughter in marriage, and Málik-bin Zoheir gave his daughter, but stipulated that her offspring should have precedence of all Málik-bin Fahm's sons by other wives. Málik-bin Fahm assented and married her on these conditions. By this marriage he had issue Salímah-bin Málik. Málik reigned over 'Omán for seventy years, during which time neither Arab nor Persian opposed his rule. His age was 120 years.

It is said that Málik-bin Fahm was slain accidentally by his son Salímah,²⁹ in the following manner: It is said that Málik used to require his sons to keep guard at night, each in turn with a body selected from Málik's most trusty nobles and followers. Now Salímah was more beloved of his father than any of his brothers, and had higher rank and dignity assigned him. His father had taught him archery until he excelled in the art. His brothers envied him on account of the preference shown him, and sought to lower him in his father's estimation, but found no opportunity to find fault with him. At length, one day some of them approached their father, and accused Salímah of leaving his post when on watch and retiring apart to sleep. Málik, however, reproved them, and told them he knew that envy prompted them to traduce his son Salímah, and that he judged the latter by his knowledge of him, so they were forced to withdraw without gaining their object. Afterwards, however, misgiving entered Málik's mind, and he resolved to put the charges against his son Salímah to the test. He accordingly went forth in disguise and secretly, on a night when it was Salímah's turn to keep guard. Now it was Salímah's custom to withdraw from his comrades and keep watch close to his father's house. On this night he had taken his usual station; and sleep had overtaken him just at the hour his father came out. His mare seeing the form of Málik in the distance neighed, on which Salímah started from his sleep in alarm, and saw his mare with her ears erected. Now it was the habit of the mare on seeing anything approaching to point her ears in the direction of the object, and the rider would aim his arrow accordingly. So Salímah discharged his arrow between the mare's ears towards Málik not knowing it was his father. Málik heard the sound of the arrow as it left the bow, and called out, "Do not shoot, my son, I am your father." It was too late, however, and the dart pierced the centre of his heart.

Salímah, after having slain his father, fled to the Persian coast in fear of his brothers, and abode at Jashk, where he married a native of the land named el-Asfáhiyeh. His offspring by this marriage were called Benú-el-Asfáhiyeh. Salímah afterwards removed to Kermán which he made himself master of after a series of adventures,³⁰ and reigned as king until his death,

By a marriage with a Persian lady he had ten sons, named 'Abd and Himáyeh and Sa'd and Rúáheh and Majásh and Keláb and Asd and Táher and Aswad and 'Othmán. After his death, his sons were disunited, and the Persians expelled them, and some went to 'Omán. The majority of the children of Salímah, however, remained in Kermán, where they were numerous and powerful.

The Persians did not return to 'Omán after their expulsion by Málik until his reign terminated, and his children reigned in his place, and the kingdom of 'Omán came into the possession of el-Julandá-bin el-Mustatir³¹ el-Ma'walí, and Persia fell into the hands of the Benú Sásán.³² There was peace between them and el-Julandá in 'Omán, and the Persians kept a force of 4000 warriors in 'Omán and a deputy with the kings of the el-Azd. The Persians abode on the sea coast, and the el-Azd ruled in the interior plains and hills and districts of 'Omán, the direction of affairs being entirely with them.

The Persian monarchs used to send persons who had incurred their displeasure or whom they feared to their army in 'Omán. So it continued until God caused el-Islám to be manifested.³³

Book II.¹

Account of the people of 'Omán from the period when they embraced the religion of el-Islám until they became disunited.

There is a tradition that the first man of 'Omán to embrace el-Islám was one Mázin-bin-Ghadhúbah, who visited the Prophet and asked him to pray for him and the people of 'Omán.

Afterwards the Apostle of God wrote to the people of 'Omán, inviting them to adopt the religion of Islám. He wrote amongst others to 'Abd and Jeifar², the sons of el-Julandá (who had died a short time before), to the effect that if they would accept el-Islám, he would confirm them as Governors; otherwise they would be deposed. He sent this letter by 'Amr-bin el-'Ás, who alighted at a place near Şobár named Damsetjerd, which had been built by the Persians. Thence he sent a message to the sons of Julandá, who were the foremost and most influential chiefs of 'Omán. The first who met the messenger was 'Abd, who was the most discerning and sensible of the two brothers. He sent on 'Amr to his brother Jeifar with the sealed letter, and Jeifar broke the seal and read it, and then passed it to 'Abd who also read it. The latter then told 'Amr that this was no trifling matter he had come about, and that he would reflect on it, and afterwards give a reply. He then assembled a council of the el-Azd, and sent to Ka'b-bin Barshah el-'Udí. They all became converts to el-Islám, and sent to all their kinsmen who vowed obedience to the Prophet, and agreed to offer the proper religious alms. Jeifar sent messengers to Maheyreh, and Shihr in the south, and to Dabá,³

and the furthest limits of 'Omán to the north ; and at his invitation all the people accepted el-Islám, save the Persians who dwelt in 'Omán. When the Persians rejected el-Islám, the el-Azd assembled round Jeifar, and all agreed to expel the Persian deputy Maskán and his followers from the country. As the Persians refused either to join el-Islám or to leave the country quietly, the el-Azd attacked them, killed their leader Maskán and many more, and drove the remainder into their town of Damsetjerd, when they besieged them rigorously, until they sued for terms. The el-Azd granted them quarter on condition that they left all their gold and silver and other property behind and quitted 'Omán, which they did. 'Amr continued to reside with and direct the el-Azd, until the death of the Prophet. After that, 'Abd-bin-el-Julandá and many of the el-Azd proceeded to visit Abú-Bekr' the Just, who praised the conduct of the people of 'Omán in accepting the message of the Prophet willingly and spontaneously. It is said too that 'Abd served the Khalífeh in an expedition against the Ál-Jifneh. Abú-Bekr then wrote to the people of 'Omán thanking them and confirming Jeifar and 'Abd in the government. The virtues of these two cannot be fully described, but much might be written of them. They continued pre-eminent in 'Omán until they died. They were succeeded by 'Abbád-bin 'Abd-bin el-Julandá, in the time of 'Othmán-bin 'Affán and 'Alí.

Then came the wars and divisions, and Mu'áwíyah succeeded to power ; but his authority was not established in 'Omán. At the period when 'Abdul-Málik-bin Marwán reigned and el-Hejjáj governed el-'Iráq, Suleimán and Sa'íd, the sons of 'Abbád-bin 'Abd-bin el-Julandá, ruled in 'Omán. El-Hejjáj sent several large armies against them, but they defeated them on each occasion and put them to flight until at length el-Kásim-bin Shi'wah came with a numerous army to 'Omán in ships, which anchored at one of the villages of 'Omán, named Haṭát. Suleimán-bin 'Abbád led the el-Azd against the invaders, and a battle ensued in which the troops of el-Hejjáj were routed and el-Kásim and many of his followers slain ; and Suleimán captured all their property.

When this alarming news reached el-Hejjáj, he sent for Mujá'ah-bin Shi'wah, brother of el-Kásim, and ordered him to rouse the people and make a general levy of the Nizár' tribes. El-Hejjáj was personally incensed and eager for revenge. He wrote to 'Abd-el-Malik-bin Marwán, and restrained the chiefs of the el-Azd of el-Başrah from aiding Suleimán-bin 'Abbád. I have found it stated that the army which el-Hejjáj collected and sent against 'Omán, numbered 40,000 men. One half was despatched by land and the other half by sea. The former portion of the army having marched to 'Omán was opposed by Suleimán at the head of a force of the el-Azd, consisting of 3,000 horsemen and 3,500 camel riders. The encounter took place by the water, which is within five, or some say three, days' march of

the desert country.⁶ It is the water near the village of Búsher (it is now called el-Balka'ain). The battle which was a severe one, resulted in the defeat of el-Hejjáj's men, who fled and were pursued by Suleimán for a long distance, the latter being wholly unaware of the approach of the second army by sea, which meanwhile arrived at Búnáneh, and the commander was informed that Suleimán had gone forth with the main body of his army to oppose the force which had come by the land route, and that those who remained with his brother Sa'id were only a handful. Mujá'ah thereupon marched night and day until he reached Birkeh, where Sa'id attacked his force, and a fierce battle occurred, which lasted until night separated the combatants. Sa'id then regarding his army perceived that it was to that of the enemy like as a white spot on the body of a black bull, and many had been killed. So he retired during the night taking with him his own and his brother's children, and proceeded to the great mountain of the Benú-Ríyám, which is called el-Jebel el-Akhdhar, and also Rodhwán (spelt with *dhammah*). The enemy came up with him, and they remained besieged until Suleimán came up. Mujá'ah had anchored his fleet of 300 vessels in Maskat' harbour, and Suleimán proceeded there and burned more than fifty vessels, the rest escaping seaward. He then marched against Mujá'ah's army, and Mujá'ah conceiving himself unable to cope with Suleimán sought to escape to sea, but was encountered by Suleimán at the village of Semáil. A severe conflict ensued, in which Mujá'ah was worsted and fled. He, however, succeeded in reaching his ships, and embarking sailed to Julfár.³ Thence he wrote to el-Hejjáj who sent to his aid a re-inforcement of 5,000 mounted men, selected from the Bedouins of el-Shám, under 'Abd-ul-Rahmán-bin Suleimán, by land. Amongst them was a man of the tribe of el-Azd who was known by the title "el-Maláheh," and they were unaware that he was of that tribe. This person fled by night to Suleimán and Sa'id, and informed them of the approach of the fresh force; whereupon they perceived they were unable to resist longer, and taking with them their families' property and those of their tribe who chose to follow them, they reached one of the districts of the Zenj⁹, where they abode until their death. Mujá'ah and 'Abd-ul-Rahmán then entered 'Omán with their forces and exercised great severity, plundering the inhabitants. (We seek refuge with God from such things.) El-Hejjáj after that appointed el-Kheiyái-bin Sírah el-Mujásha'í governor of 'Omán. When 'Abdul-Malek died (A. D. 705), and el-Walíd-bin 'Abdul-Malek succeeded him, and el-Hejjáj died, Walíd appointed Yezíd-bin Abú-Muslim Governor of el-'Iráq, and the latter sent Seyf-bin el-Hání-el-Hamadání to govern 'Omán.

When Walíd-bin 'Abdul-Malek died and his brother Suleimán succeeded, the latter removed all the governors who had been appointed in 'Omán, and sent Şálih-bin 'Abdul-Rahmán el-Leithí. Afterwards he saw fit

to re-instate the governors, but made them subordinate to Šálih-bin 'Abdul-Rahmán.

After that Yazíd-bin el-Muhallib became Governor of 'Iráq and Kho-rásán, and he appointed his brother Ziyád over 'Omán, and he treated its inhabitants kindly, and continued to rule until Suleimán-bin 'Abdul-Malek died, and 'Omar-bin 'Abdul-'Azíz succeeded to the government (of 'Iráq). He placed 'Adí-bin Artáh el-Fezárí over el-'Iráq, who sent a governor to 'Omán who behaved so badly to the people that they wrote to 'Omán-bin 'Abdul-'Azíz. The latter placed over them 'Omar-bin 'Abdullah-bin Sabí-hah el-Anšárí, who treated them well and remained Governor over 'Omán, honored by the inhabitants, and receiving their contributions voluntarily until 'Omar-bin 'Abdul-'Azíz died. Then said 'Omar-bin 'Abdullah to Ziyád-bin el-Muhallib, "this country is the land of your tribe, do as you please with it," and straightway went forth from 'Omán. Ziyád-bin el-Muhallib then governed 'Omán, until Abul-'Abbás el-Saffáh appeared, and the empire of the Benú-Omeyyeh passed to him. He appointed Abú-Ja'far el-Manşúr over el-'Iráq. The latter appointed Jenáh-bin 'Abbádah-bin K̄eis-bin 'Omar el-Hináí¹⁰ governor of 'Omán, who was the builder of the mosque known as el-Jenáh. Afterwards he was deposed, and his son Mo-hammed-bin Jenáh appointed in his stead. Thereupon Jenáh-bin 'Abbádah sided with the Ibádhíyeh¹¹ (Ibádhís), until at length the latter acquired the sovereignty in 'Omán.

THE IMA'M EL-JULANDA'-BIN MES'ÚD.—Thereupon they elected el-Julandá bin Mes'úd their Imám,¹² and he was the cause of strength to the sect, and was a just and popular ruler.

A. D. 750. At the call of el-Saffáh, Shíbán went forth against el-Julandá, who, on his reaching 'Omán, sent against him Hilál-bin 'Atíyah el-Khorásání and Yahyá-bin Najíh with a force of Musalmans.¹³ Now Yahyá was famed for his virtue; he uttered a prayer in which he mentioned both sides saying, "O God, if Thou knowest us to be in the faith Thou approvest, and to follow the truth Thou wishest us to hold, grant, that I may be the first of my comrades killed, and Shíbán the first on his side, after which cause defeat to befall his followers. If on the contrary Thou knowest that Shíbán and his followers hold the faith that pleaseth Thee, and the truth Thou wishest to be established, then cause Shíbán to fall the first."

Then the forces encountered one another, and the first who was slain on the side of the Musalmans was Yahyá-bin Najíh whilst Shíbán was the first to fall on his side.

After the death of Shíbán, there came to 'Omán Kházim-bin Khozeymah saying they had come in search of that force, namely, Shíbán and his followers, but "it suffices that God has decreed they should be slain by your hands. I wish, however, to go forth from you to the Khalífah and

“inform him you bear him obedience.” El-Julandá consulted the Musalmans as to this proposal, but they were against it. It is also said Kházim demanded the sword and seal of Shíbán, and that el-Julandá refused; on which a battle ensued between him and Kházim, in which all el-Julandá's followers were slain, and none remained alive save himself and Hilál-bin 'Atíyah el-Khorásaní. Then said Hilál to el-Julandá, “You are my Imám, precede me,¹⁴ and I engage not to survive you.” El-Julandá then advanced and fought until he fell. Hilál then rushed on clad in armour, and the enemy amazed at his valour for some time failed to recognize him, but at length they discovered who he was, and raising the cry “Hilál-bin 'Atíyah!” fell on him and slew him.

The Imámate of el-Julandá had lasted for two years and a month. It is said that it was Kházim-bin Khozeymah who caused el-Julandá to be slain. It has also been told me that at his death Kházim was congratulated by some one on his conquest of 'Omán, and that he replied, “Ye “deceived me in my lifetime and do ye seek to do so at my death? Alas! “how will it be for me for slaying the 'Omán Sheykh!”

I have also found it stated that a native of 'Omán went on the pilgrimage; and with him was a man from el-Başrah who rested not by night nor slept. The 'Omání asked him about this, and he replied not knowing his companion was a native of 'Omán, that he had gone with Kházim-bin Khozeymah to 'Omán and had there fought against a people, the like of whom he had never seen, and since that day sleep did not visit him. The 'Omání said to himself, “You deserve it, if you are one of those who fought against 'Omán.” After el-Julandá was killed, 'Omán fell into the hands of tyrants who misgoverned the country and oppressed the inhabitants. Amongst those oppressors were the two Julandáites Mohammed-bin Záidah and Ráshid-bin Sháthán-bin el-Nadhr. In the time of those two, Ghassán-el-Henáí, of the Benú-Mahárib, plundered Nezwá, and the Benú Náfa and Benú-Hamím fled therefrom after many had been slain. This occurred in the month of Sha'bán, A. H. 145. [A. D. 762]. Thereupon the Benú-Háarith of Ibrá espoused their cause, and amongst them there was a slave belonging to Bakrah called Ziyád-bin Sa'id el-Bakarí, so they agreed upon proceeding to el-'Atík for the purpose of putting to death Ghassán el-Hináí, and they met him between his house and that of Jenáh-bin Sa'd, at a place called el-Khór, as he was returning from visiting a sick person of the Benú-Hináh. He passed by unaware of their presence, and they slew him. Manázil-bin Khanbash, who resided at Nabá and was agent for Mohammed-bin-Záidah, and Ráshid-bin Sháthán the Julandáites, were angered at this proceeding: and they attacked the people of Ibrá unawares. The latter, however, repulsed them, and forty of them were slain.

God then blessed the people of 'Omán by bestowing on them love of

the Truth, and a portion of the Musalmáns rose up in defence of God's Truth, and overthrew the power of those tyrants. Insomuch as the learned Sheykh of the people of 'Omán assembled at Nezwá under the guidance of Músá-bin Abú-Jábir el-Azkání, and desired the Imámate to be conferred on Mohammed-ibn Abú-'Affán.

Now amongst those present were certain chiefs who did not favour the change; and the Sheykh Músá fearing the purpose of the Musalmáns might be frustrated and strife ensue, said, "We have elected the son of 'Abú-'Affán to govern Nezwá and the towns of el-Jowf; and I fancy he "added until war ceases."

THE IMA'M MOHAMMED-BIN ABU-'AFFA'N.—And the Sheykh Abul-Manthar Bushír-bin el-Manthar remarked, "We expected to see what would please us, but we have seen what disgusts us." Músá rejoined, "We have done what you wish," but his object was to separate them, lest strife should arise. When the refractory chiefs returned to their respective districts, the Sheykh wrote letters deposing them, and sent governors to the various towns. I imagine they were deposed before the arrival of the new Governors. Mohammed-bin Abú-'Affán then remained in the camp, and behaved in such a manner as to displease the Musalmáns. It has reached me that what revolted them was his tyranny towards the Musalmáns, and his rejection of good advice. However that be, they devised a stratagem by means of which they effected his expulsion from the camp of Nezwá; after which they held a meeting and deposed Mohammed and elected another Imám. Mohammed had been Imám for two years and one month.

THE IMAM EL-WA'RITH-BIN KA'B.—Their choice fell on El-Wáarith-bin Ka'b el-Kharúsí el-Shárí¹⁵ el-Yahmadí el-Azdí, who became Imám in the year 177 A. H. [A. D. 783.] El-Wáarith revived the ancient virtues of the Musalmáns, and treading the paths of rectitude, honored the Truth and her followers. He repressed infidelity, and thus God vouchsafed the fall of the oppressors.

In his time, Hárún el-Rashíd sent [against 'Omán] 'Ysá-bin Ja'far-bin Abul-Manşúr with a force of 1,000 cavalry and 5,000 infantry. Dáúd-bin Yazíd el-Mahallabí wrote to the Imám Wáarith informing him of the arrival of 'Ysá with his army, whereupon the Imám sent Fáris-bin Mohammed against him. The opposing forces encountered one another at Hattá,¹⁶ and 'Ysá-bin Ja'fer was defeated and forced to fly to his ships and put to sea. Abú-Hamíd-bin Feleh el-Haddání el-Salúní followed him up, accompanied by 'Amrú-bin 'Omar with three ships, and succeeded in capturing 'Ysá, who was taken to Şohár and there imprisoned. The Imám consulted the Sheykh 'Alí-bin 'Azrah concerning him, and he replied: "It rests with you whether to put him to death or to spare him." The Imám refrained from putting him to death and kept him imprisoned. I have heard that a party of Mu-

salmáns, amongst whom was Yahyá-bin 'Abdul-'Azíz, set out without the knowledge of the Imám, and coming to Şohár scaled the wall of the prison and slew 'I'sá; the Imám and the Wálí being neither of them cognizant of their proceedings. They then returned to their homes the same night.

On hearing of the death of 'I'sá, Hárún resolved to send another army to 'Omán, and the people were in great fear of him. But he died ere his design was carried out, and God saved the people from the evil he had in store for them. [A. D. 809.]

It is said that Yahyá-bin 'Abdul-'Azíz was one of the most excellent of the Musalmáns; he seems indeed to have been unsurpassed by any of his contemporaries. His fame equalled that of 'Abdul Azíz-bin Suleimán. It is handed down to us that the Sheykh Bashír-bin el-Manthar was wont to say that the slayer of 'I'sá should not taste the fire. El-Wáarith continued to govern as Imám with virtue and justice, until God took him. He was drowned in a flood of the Wádí el-Nejdí (or the Wádí Kalbúh), and seventy of his followers perished with him. This event happened as follows: He seems to have formed a prison near a scammony tree, and many Musalmáns were confined there. The Wádí became flooded, and the waters flowed down in a raging torrent, when the Imám was informed that the flood would reach the prisoners. He at once ordered them to be released, but no one would venture to their rescue from fear of the torrent. Then the Imám said, "Since they are in my charge, and I shall be responsible for them at the day of Resurrection, I shall go across to them." Accordingly he made towards the prisoners, followed by a number of his attendants, but the torrent overtook them and swept all, including the prisoners, away. When the water of the Wádí dried up, the Imám's body was buried between 'Akr and Sa'ál, where his grave is well known. His Imámate had lasted for twelve years and about six months.

THE IMA'M GHASSA'N-BIN 'ABDULLAH. His successor was Ghassán-bin 'Abdullah el-Fájhí el-Yehmadí el-Azdí, who walked in the paths of the true Musalmáns, and honoring the truth and those who followed it put a check on infidelity.

In his time the "Bowárih"¹⁷ used to make descents on and ravage the coasts of 'Omán. Ghassán, however, fitted out small vessels with which he attacked the pirates in reprisal, until they were obliged to discontinue their attacks on 'Omán. He was the first ruler of 'Omán, who constructed vessels and employed them in naval warfare. During his reign el-Şakr-bin Mohammed-bin Záídah was slain. This person was amongst the number of those who declared the allegiance of the Musalmáns due to Ráshid-bin el-Nadhr el-Julandáí, and he aided them with money and arms. He was slain in the following manner: A person belonging to the Eastern districts,¹⁸ raised a revolt against the Musalmáns, and was joined by Benú-Hináh

and others. It was told to the Musalmáns that the brother of el-Şaḡr was with the rebels; but el-Şaḡr denied it and gave out that his brother was lying sick in his house. When, however, God caused the rebels to be put to flight, it was ascertained that el-Şaḡr's brother was with them. El-Şaḡr was, therefore, suspected of treachery in concealing the conduct of his brother. So the Imám sent a party to Semáíl where he was residing. The Wáíl of Semáíl was Abul-Wadhdháhl el-Şaḡr-bin Mohammed, who accompanied the Imám's messengers to el-Şaḡr, fearing on his account lest they should fall on him. The Imám had in the meantime sent a second party after him, and with them Músá-bin 'Alí. They met at Nejd-el-Sahámát. Whilst they were proceeding on their way, certain persons of their troop attacked el-Şaḡr, and killed him, Abul-Wadhdháh and Músá-bin 'Alí being unable to prevent them. The latter, it is indeed said, was alarmed for his own safety; and had he opened his lips, he would have been slain with el-Şaḡr. It has been recorded that the Imám Ghassán showed displeasure against those who slew el-Şaḡr.

Those were the days when the kingdom was in its prime and in the fulness of its power, and learning at its height. Such was the manner of el-Şaḡr's death, but God knows the truth. Among the executive measures of the Imám Ghassán, the following may be mentioned.

There was at Semed of Nezwá a house belonging to the Benú-Julandá, the site of which was probably in the plantation named el-'Akúdíyeh [arches]. One of the arches of this building spanned the high road, and above the arch were windows. Now the archway was dark, and was frequented by licentious and disreputable persons. It was said that a woman who happened to pass through the archway was molested by one of these bad characters, and the affair came to the knowledge of the Imám Ghassán, who ordered the owners of the house either to pull down the arch or to light it up by night, so that the persons passing should see who was there. The owners of the house, thereupon, opened out a new road for the public through their plantation, and it was used by people passing until the house was pulled down, after which the proprietors built a house across the new road, and the former highway was re-opened to the public. The remains of the arch may be seen in the southern wall of the mosque at Semed of Nezwá.

Ghassán continued to govern justly and uprightly, until he fell ill on Wednesday, the 22nd of Thul-Ḳa'deh in the year of the Hijreh 207, and died of his illness [A. D. 822]. His Imámate had lasted fifteen years, seven months, and seven days.¹⁹ He was succeeded by

THE IMA'M 'ABDUL-MA'LIK-BIN HAMI'D, who derived from the stock of Súdah-bin 'Alí-bin 'Amr-bin 'Ámir, surnamed Má-el-Semá, the Azdite. This Prince governed righteously and justly, and followed in the footsteps

of his virtuous predecessors. In those days 'Omán was blessed with prosperity. He was installed on Monday, the 22nd of the month of Showwál, A. H. 208. [A. D. 823]. He continued to govern justly until he became aged and infirm, when dissensions broke out amongst his soldiery. The Musalmáns thereupon consulted Músá-bin 'Alí concerning his deposition, and he advised them to assemble the soldiers and arrange for the government. Músá then assembled the troops, and proceeded to administer the Government, forbidding wrong-doing and strengthening the power of the Musalmáns. Meanwhile 'Abdul-Málik remained in his house, and they did not depose him, so he remained Imám until he died.²⁰ His reign lasted eighteen years.

THE IMA'M EL-MUHENNA'-BIN JEIFAR. The Musalmáns then elected El-Muhenná-bin Jeifar el-Fajhí el-Yahmadí el-Azdí, on Friday in the month of Rejeb in the year 226 A. H. [A. D. 840].

This Prince trod in the footsteps of the Musalmáns, and adhered to their principles. He was possessed of much firmness and decision of character. At his assemblies no person could presume to speak nor to interfere in favour of one litigant against another; nor would any of his attendants venture to rise so long as he was seated; neither would any person in receipt of military allowances enter unless properly armed.

One of his agents for the collection of the şadaqát (or poor rates) was a person named 'Abdullah-bin Suleimán of the Benú-Dhabbah of Manh, and he used to be sent to the grazing grounds to receive the contributions of cattle. It is related that he entered the land of Mahrah,²¹ and went to a person of that district named Wasím-bin Ja'fer, from whom two payments were due. He, however, refused to pay more than one contribution, saying to the collector, "Take that, if you like, and if not, behold the graves of your comrades." 'Abdullah thereon held his peace and returned. He had with him a camel driver, and when he reached 'Azz, where his home was, he tarried there, and sent the camel driver on to the Imám. The man arrived whilst the Imám was holding his levée. As soon as that was over, he summoned the camel driver, and asked him about 'Abdullah and how he had fared on his journey. So he informed the Imám of the conduct of Wasím. The Imám strictly enjoined the camel man not to disclose what he had reported to any one, but to keep the matter secret. When 'Abdullah-bin Suleimán arrived, the Imám questioned him about Wasím, and 'Abdullah repeated what the camel driver had reported. Thereupon the Imám at once wrote to the Wálís of Adam, Senáo, and Ja'alán to the effect that if they could succeed in capturing Wasím of Mahrah, they were to keep him securely and send him word. The Wálí of Adam wrote to say he had taken Wasím, whereon the Imám sent to him Yahyá the Yahmaní, known as Abú-Maḡárish, with a body of horsemen. After them he despatched a

second detachment who came up with the first at el-Menáif; then a third, which joined at the village of 'Azz; and a fourth troop, which overtook the others at Manh. In this manner he continued despatching troop after troop, so that it might be said the prisoner was borne along on their spears, until they arrived at Nezwá with him. There the Imám ordered him to be imprisoned, and he remained a year in confinement, during which period no one dared to mention his name, nor to enquire concerning him. At length, a deputation of persons arrived from el-Mahrah, who through the el-Yahmad chiefs interceded for him with el-Muhenná, who consented to release him on one of the following conditions, from which he desired them to choose—

First,—that they should emigrate from 'Omán.

Second,—that they should agree to fight.

Third,—that they should bring the cattle every year to the camp of Nezwá, where impartial witnesses should attest that the due complement was produced and that none were withheld; also the witnesses should arbitrate concerning them at Adam. To these proposals the deputation replied in the following terms: “As for emigrating, it is impossible for us to do so; and as for war, we shall not fight against the Imám; but we are ready to bring the camels.”

On this the Imám appointed the witnesses, and thenceforth they used to bring their camels, and march them round every year. I have heard say that the pillar which stands at Fark was erected in the time of el-Muhenná as a mark for the Benú-Mahrah, that they should assemble their camels on that spot; but God knows if this is true. And in those days el-Mogheyreh-bin Rúsin, the Juldáite, and his associates of the Benú-Juldá, and other turbulent people raised a rebellion, and went forth to Towwám where Abul-Wadhdhah was Wálí for the Imám el-Muhenná. The insurgents slew the said Wálí. Now at that time Abú-Marwán was Wálí of Şohár; and as soon as the intelligence reached the Musalmáns, he at once set out with his followers and allies, amongst whom was el-Maţţár el-Hindi and his followers of the el-Hind. When they reached Towwám, God caused the Benú-Juldá to be defeated and dispersed; some of them were slain, and the rest took to flight. On this el-Maţţár and a number of ignorant soldiers made for the houses of the Benú-Juldá and set fire to them. The cattle were tied up within the enclosure, and it is related that one of the soldiers repeatedly threw himself into the water, so as to wet his body and clothes and rushed into the midst of the fire, in order to cut the tethers and to allow the beasts to save themselves from burning. It is said from fifty to seventy buildings were burned down. I have heard it related that the women of the Benú-Juldá fled to the desert, where they remained for some time. They had with them a handmaid, whom, when they fell in want of food and drink, they sent by night to beg a supply from a neighbouring village. The girl

succeeded in obtaining some meal and a skin for holding milk and a fragment of a jar. She then filled her skin with water from the stream, and was returning to the women, when she was perceived by a soldier, who overtook her and took from her the meal which he poured on the ground, and after taking the water from her also, left her. I have found it stated that Abú-Marwán did not give the order for burning the village; it is more probable that he had forbidden such a proceeding, but that his words were disregarded. It is said that the Imám sent two messengers to the tribe whose village had been burnt, inviting them to return and promising to make them fitting compensation. The number of Abú-Marwán's forces is stated to have been 12,000. El-Muhenná remained Imám until his death, which occurred on the 16th of Rabí'-ul Ákhir, A. H. 237, [A. D. 851] he having reigned as Imám for ten years and some months and days, during which time he enjoyed the approval and support of the Musalmáns in general. Nevertheless, I find it mentioned in the biography of the Sheykh Abú-Ḳaḥṭán Khálid-bin Ḳaḥṭán that the Sheykh Mohammed-bin Mahbúb and Bashír had knowledge of the conduct of el-Muhenná incompatible with the retention of the Imámate, and consequently they secretly renounced him. God knows whether this is true.

THE IMA'M EL-ṢALT-BIN MA'LIK. On the day of el-Muhenná's death, the Musalmáns elected el-Ṣalt-bin Málik to be their ruler. At that time, the most excellent of the Musalmáns and their leader and guide in science and religious learning was Mohammed-bin Mahbúb. They swore allegiance to el-Ṣalt-bin Málik in the same manner that the just Imáms who preceded him had been acknowledged. He governed justly and uprightly for a long period, until all the Sheykh's of the Musalmáns who had elected him had passed away. Not one of them, as far as we know, seceded from him. He lived as Imám longer than any of his predecessors, until he grew old and feeble. His infirmity, however, was only in his limbs, for we are not aware that any one asserted that his mind, hearing, or sight had become impaired.

When the scroll of Destiny announced that his time was come, and God willed to try the people of 'Omán, as He had tried those who had gone before them, Músá-bin Músá rose up against him, and pursued him until he alighted at Fark.²² Thereupon the people forsook el-Ṣalt, who being too weak to retain his position was deposed from the Imámate.

THE IMA'M RA'SHID-BIN EL-NADHR. Músá then conferred the Imámate on Ráshid-bin el-Nadhr on Thursday, three days before the end of the month of el-Hijj, 273 A. H. [A. D. 886].

The Imámate of el-Ṣalt had lasted 35 years, 7 months, and 8 days. His death occurred on Friday night in the middle of Thul-Hijjah, 275 A. H. In his days died the most accomplished and eminent of scholars Mohammed-bin Mahbúb.

Book III.*From the Outbreak of Civil Dissensions to the Imámate of Sa'id-bin-'Abdullah. A. D. 886 to A. D. 934.*

There then arose dissensions in 'Omán, and much misery ensued. The people became divided in religion and counsels, and civil war and discord fell grievously upon them. Then Músá renounced Ráshid and his wickedness and error, and rising against him deposed him.

THE IMA'M 'AZZA'N-BIN TEMI'M. 'Azzán-bin Temím el-Kharúsí succeeded to the Imámate on Tuesday, three nights before the end of the month of Şafar, A. H. 277. [A. D. 890.] Amongst those present at the ceremony of vowing obedience were 'Omar-bin Mohammed the Kádhi, and Mohammed-bin Músá-bin 'Alí and 'Azzán-bin el-Hizabr, and Azhar-bin Mohammed-bin Suleimán.

Músá and 'Azzán continued to be mutual friends for a long time, but at length they quarrelled, and 'Azzán deposed Músá from the office of Kádhi. 'Azzán then feared what might happen to him from Músá, and hastened to send a force against him, which he raised partly from the inmates of the prisons. They proceeded to Izkí,¹ where they entered the walled enclosure of the el-Nizár,² and set to work to slaughter, seize, carry off and plunder the inhabitants of Izkí. They then set fire to the place, and burned many of the people alive. Músá-bin Músá was killed by the pebbles of Roddah near the mosque of el-Hajar in the quarter of el-Jenúr. In short, they treated the people of Izkí with unheard-of barbarity. The warfare thenceforward became grievous, and hatred and anger were rife; each side endeavoured by every means in its power to inflict loss on its rival. 'Azzán received those who brought the intelligence of this affair with honour, and rewarded them with largesse, and withheld his favours from such as had held back from the expedition against Izkí. This affair took place on Sunday, one day before the end of Sha'bán, A. H. 278. [A. D. 891].

In consequence of this occurrence el-Fadhl-bin el-Hawárí el-Koreishí-el-Nizárí took the field, in order to avenge the massacre of the people of Izkí. He was joined by the el-Madharíyeh,³ and the el-Haddán and some of the Benul-Háarith of el-Báţineh; and he was met by 'Abdullah el-Haddání in the mountains of the el-Haddán.⁴

El Fadhl proceeded to Towám which is el-Jow.⁵ Thence he returned to el-Haddán. He was there joined by el-Hawári-bin 'Abdullah el-Salúní, and they proceeded on the 16th of Showwál of the same year to Şohár, which they entered on the 23rd of the same month on a Friday. They attended Friday prayers,⁶ and Zeyd-bin Suleimán officiated on the occasion, and preached to the people, after which he blessed el-Hawári-bin 'Abdullah el-Salúní from the pulpit. They remained in Şohár the rest of Friday and

Saturday; and in the evening of Sunday, they went forth to encounter el-Ahíf-bin Hamhám el-Hináí, and those who accompanied him of the adherents of 'Azzán-bin Temím. For when the latter heard of their movement, he sent against them el-Ahíf-bin Hamhám, chief of the Benú-Hináh⁷ with a force of the el-Yahmad, amongst them Fahm-bin Wáarith. They proceeded until they reached Majiz in el-Báṭineh, and summoned el-Ṣalt-bin Nadhr, who came forth against them with horse and foot. El-Fadhī-bin el-Hawárí and el-Hawárí-bin 'Abdullah also came up, and a battle ensued, in which a great number of the Madhríyeh were slain, and the remainder were forced to fly. This encounter took place on Monday, four days before the end of the month of Showwál of the above mentioned year.

There continued to be strife amongst the people of 'Omán, and their mutual animosities increased in bitterness. The Imámate became to them as a thing to sport with, and an object of rebellious contention and incentive to ambitious designs. They followed not God's book nor the footsteps of their virtuous ancestors. Matters reached such a pass that in one year they set up sixteen different Imáms, and in each case failed to hold to the allegiance they had vowed.

At length, when the fulness of the time was come, Mohammed-bin Abil-Kásim and Bashír-bin el-Manther of the Benú-Sámah-bin Lawá-bin-Ghálīb went forth and proceeded to el-Bahreyn, where at that time Mohammed-bin Nú^r was governor on the part of el-Mo'tadhīd.⁹ To him they complained, on arrival, of the sufferings they had endured from the Himyarite¹⁰ faction, and invited him to accompany them to 'Omán, tempting him by holding out hopes of great advantages. The governor acquiesced, but advised them to visit the Khalífeh at Baghdád and state the circumstances to him, and that their object in coming was a desire for his success. So Mohammed-bin Abil-Kásim went on to Baghdád, whilst Bushír remained with Mohammed-bin Nú^r. When Mohammed was admitted to the Khalífeh's presence, he related to him the whole matter, and obtained a commission for Mohammed-bin Nú^r to proceed against 'Omán; after which he returned to el-Bahreyn. On his return there, Mohammed-bin Nú^r commenced raising a force from the various tribes, but principally from the Nizár. He was joined also by some of the tribe Ṭei from el-Shám, and marched against 'Omán at the head of 25,000 men, of whom 3,500 were horsemen equipped in armour and with their baggage.

The report of Mohammed-bin Nú^r's approach caused great commotion in 'Omán, where the people were split up into rival factions, their counsels devoid of concert and their hearts disunited. Some there were who emigrated from 'Omán with their families and property, and others found no resource but to resign themselves to disgrace. Suleimán-bin 'Abd-el-Málik-bin-Bilál-el-Salímí with his retainers proceeded to Hormuz, and the people of

Şohár emigrated with their property and families to Shíráz and el-Başreh. Mohammed-bin Núr meanwhile advanced with his forces and took Júlfár, whence he proceeded to Towwám, which he reached, after some encounters had taken place in the sandy wastes, on Wednesday, six days before the end of the month el-Moharram, A. H. 280 [A. D. 893]; and conquered el-Sirr and neighbouring districts. He then advanced on Nezwá, from which place 'Azzán-bin Temím, finding himself deserted by the people, fled to Semed-el-Shán. As soon as Mohammed-bin Núr appeared, Nezwá surrendered to him, and he continued his advance on Semed-el-Shán, and encountered 'Azzán-bin Temím, and on Wednesday, five days before the end of Şáfar of the same year, a severe contest occurred, which resulted in the flight of the people of 'Omán and the death of 'Azzán-bin Temím.

Thus 'Omán passed out of the hands of its inhabitants. "It was not that God had changed His grace which was in them, but they themselves changed the disposition in their souls by sin."¹¹ For they fought amongst themselves for power and supremacy, each one aiming at having the authority in his own hands or in the hands of those he favoured. So God delivered them into the power of one more unjust than themselves. And since they had become corrupt in their religion, therefore God deprived them of their kingdom, and set an enemy over them to rule them. The rule of the Ibádhiyeh from their first accession to power until their overthrow by Mohammed-bin Núr had lasted one hundred and sixty-three years all but a month and twelve days. God knows the truth!

Mohammed-bin Núr sent the head of 'Azzán-bin Temím to the Khalífeh at Baghdád, and returned to Nezwá, where he took up his residence. Soon after el-Ahíf-bin Hamhám el-Hináí wrote to the Sheykh of 'Omán and the tribes of all the districts, calling on and exhorting them to rise against Mohammed-bin Núr and drive him from 'Omán. They responded to the summons, and he marched against Mohammed-bin Núr with a numerous and well ordered force. When the latter heard of this, terror seized his heart and he took to flight, and was pursued by el-Ahíf and his army. The prudent course would have been to avoid a battle, and follow leisurely until Mohammed-bin Núr should pass the frontier of 'Omán and then to return. But God so willed it for His purposes that they marched quickly and overtook him at Damma, and a severe encounter took place, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides. The contest was going against Mohammed-bin Núr and his followers who were on the point of taking to flight, and had sought safety on the sea shore. At this juncture a body of troops appeared on the scene mounted by twos on camels. These were the advance guard and others of a force of Madharíyeh sent by Abú-'Obeydeh-bin Mohammed-el Sámí to the assistance of Mohammed-bin Núr. As soon as they had drawn nigh to the rival armies,

they alighted from their camels and seizing their weapons charged with Mohammed-bin Núr against el-Ahíf and his followers, who were exhausted by fatigue. So it happened that when on the point of gaining the victory, the people of 'Omán were put to flight, and El-Ahif-bin Hamham and many of his relatives and others were slain, few of the people of 'Omán escaping. Mohammed-bin Núr after this returned to Nezwá, and ruled supreme over all 'Omán dividing the people and committing evil throughout the land, which together with the sons of the land he ruined by his tyranny. As soon as Mohammed-bin Núr had re-established his authority in 'Omán, he degraded the most honorable of the inhabitants and reduced them to the most abject condition. He caused people to have their hands, feet, and ears cut off, their eyes put out, and generally treated the inhabitants with the greatest severity and contempt. He also filled up the water channels, burnt the books, and 'Oman passed out of the hands of its people. Afterwards desiring to return to el-Bahrein, he placed a person named Ahmed-bin Hilál as Governor of all 'Omán, and himself returned to el-Bahrein. The residence of this Ahmed was at Bahlá. He also placed a Governor at Nezwá, named Beyharah, surnamed Abú-Ahmed. This person was informed one day that Abul-Hawárí and his adherents repudiated Músá-bin Músá, on hearing which he sent a soldier to Abul-Hawárí, who came to him as he was seated after morning prayer in the Mibráb¹² Sa'íd, known by the name of Abul-Ḳásim (that is the mosque of el-Shejebí), reading the Ḳorán, and informed him that Abú-Ahmed required his presence. Abul-Hawárí replied that he had nothing to do with him, and resumed his reading. The soldier remained in astonishment, not knowing what course to take with him, until a messenger came from el-Beyharah with orders not to interfere with Abul-Hawárí, whereupon the soldier returned, and Abul-Hawárí remained unmolested by the blessed influence of the sacred book. It is said the soldier related afterwards that he had summoned him to arise, fearing lest his blood should be spilt in the Mibráb.

El-Beyharah continued to be governor of Nezwá until the people rose and slew him. His corpse was dragged away and buried in a well known spot a little below the gate called Mo'thir, by the way side of the road leading to Farḳ, where they cast manure and ashes and other refuse. God knows the truth!

The people then gave allegiance to

THE IMA'M MOHAMMED-BIN EL-HASAN EL-KHARÚSÍ as a Shári Imám.¹³ He soon after abdicated, and they elected

THE IMA'M EL-ṢALT-BIN EL-ḲA'SIM. They deposed him and declared for

THE IMA'M 'AZZA'N-BIN HAZABR EL-MA'LIKÍ, who derived from Kelb-el-Yahmad. He was also deposed and their choice fell on

THE IMA'M 'ABDULLAH-BIN MOHAMMED EL-HADDA'NI, known as Abú-Sa'íd el-Karmatí. They deposed him also and re-elected

THE IMA'M EL-ŞALT-KA'SIM (RESTORED) who died in the Imámate. Next they elected

THE IMA'M EL-HASAN-BIN EL-SAHTYNI', who died in less than a month.

THE IMA'M EL-HAWA'RI'-BIN MAṬRAF. Then they elected el-Hawáribin Maṭraf el-Haddání as a Dáfi'í¹⁴ Imám. He set to work to repress the licentious workers of folly with great severity. But on each occasion when the Sultán came to 'Omán to tax the inhabitants, he was wont to withdraw from the house of the Imámate to his private residence, and made no attempt to prevent his committing injustice and tyranny. As soon as the Sultán had quitted 'Omán, he would return to the house of the Imámate, and placing the crown of office on his head, would say to those around him: "There is no Government but belongs to God, and no obedience is due to those who rebel against God." Up to the time of his death, some of the Benú-Asámeh remained in attendance on him by order of the Sultán. The Sultán here mentioned was the Sultán of Baghdád.¹⁵ God knows the truth! On his death, they elected his nephew 'Omar-bin Mohammed-bin Maṭraf.

THE IMA'M 'OMAR-BIN MOHAMMED. This Prince adhered to the same policy as his uncle had adopted, retiring when the Sultán came and returning to office on the latter's departure. At this period the Káramiṭeh¹⁶ invaded 'Omán, on which 'Omar resigned the Imámate. When the Káramiṭeh returned to Bahreyn, he did not resume office.

These Káramiṭeh had overrun many countries including Mekkah and el-Shám and subdued the various tribes. They were styled Benú-Abí-Sa'id-el-Hasan-ibn Bahrám-bin Bohrist-el-Heyyání.¹⁷ Abú-Sa'id abolished prayer, the fast, pilgrimage, and religious alms, and turned these observances into allegory. He so deluded his weak-minded followers, that they deified him in the place of the Almighty. He was at length overthrown by 'Abdullah-bin-'Alí, who fought against him with only 400 men, notwithstanding that their armies were numerous. He continued to strive with them for seven years, until they were deprived of power.

INTERREGNUM. After this there was an interregnum in 'Omán, during which period no Imám was elected.

THE IMA'M MOHAMMED-BIN YEZID. At length, they elected to the Imámate Mohammed-bin Yezid el-Kundí [or Kindí], whose residence was at Semed-el-Kundí. He was elected as a Dáfi'í Imám, being incapacitated from election as Shári on account of being in debt.¹⁸ At this time the Sultán subdued 'Omán, and placed two forces in occupation of it, one at el-Sirr, and the other at el-'Atík. Thereupon Mohammed-bin Yezid fled from 'Omán, and el-Hakam-bin el-Mullá el-Bohrí, a resident of Sa'ál, was elected Imám.

THE IMA'M EL-HAKAM-BIN EL-MULLA'. We know not of any previous

Imám, whether Musalmán or sinner, who equalled el-Hakam-bin el-Mullá in weakness and imbecility. He soon abdicated, and the Sultán placed an army at Nezwá. God knows the truth!

My own opinion is, that none of the Imáms mentioned after el-Şalt-bin Málik were universally recognised by the people of 'Omán, and that their rule did not extend over the entire country. They were recognised in certain districts and not in others, by some of the tribes only, and not by all. For after the dissensions which had arisen amongst them, the people of 'Omán had ceased to act in unison, and could not agree in the choice of an Imám. As they had cast away the blessings bestowed on them by God, so their hearts became disunited.

Book IV.

Containing an Account of the Imáms Sa'íd-bin 'Abdullah and Ráshid-bin-el-Walíd and their successors to the time of 'Omar-bin el-Kásim-el-Fadheylí. A.D. 934 to A.D. 1560.

The next of the Imáms appointed in 'Omán, after the people had come to be divided into factions, was Abul-Kásim Sa'íd-bin 'Abdullah-bin Mohammed-bin Mahbúb-bin el-Raheyl-bin Seyf-bin Hubeyrah, the horseman of the Prophet (on whom be peace!). I know not the date of his election, nor how long he was Imám¹; neither have I learnt by whom he was slain, and for what cause. I have perused many books and questioned many well-informed persons in search of information on these subjects, but in vain. Please God, however, I shall still endeavour to discover.

I find that the first person to declare Sa'íd-bin 'Abdullah Imám was Abú-Mohammed el-Hawári-bin 'Othmán, then Abú-Mohammed 'Abdullah-bin Mohammed-bin Abil-Múathir. Next I reckon Mohammed-bin Záideh el-Símúlí. I find also that this Imám was elected as a Dáfí'í, not as a Shári.² Abú-Mohammed 'Abdullah-bin Mohammed was wont to extol his learning and to assert that his attainments surpassed those of any previous Imám. It has also come down to us that Abú-'Abdullah Mohammed-bin Rúh said that the Imám Sa'íd-bin 'Abdullah was more learned than any of those who elected him and associated with him. It is known to us from the unanimous testimony of the select circle of those who profess the true Faith,³ that he was recognised as our Ruler and Imám. He passed away. May God have mercy on his soul! We know not that any found fault with his election to the Imámate, nor with his character; neither did any secede from him. We learn moreover of Abú-Mohammed 'Abdullah-bin Mohammed-bin Abil-Múathir that he said: "We know of no Imám of the Musalmáns in 'Omán more excellent than Sa'íd-bin 'Abdullah, for he was "an upright and learned Imám, and he died the death of a martyr. All

“these things were combined in him. May God have mercy on him!” It may be, however, that el-Julandá-bin Mes'úd was his equal; but we are told that the Sheykh Abú-Ibráhím Mohammed-bin Sa'íd-bin Abú-Bekr said—“The Imám Sa'íd-bin 'Abdullah was superior to Julandá-bin Mes'úd; for “he was a just and righteous Imám, excelling the people of his time in “learning, and he died a martyr withal. May God pardon him and “compensate us and el-Islám for his loss with the highest requital, where- “with He compensates a people for their Imám!” This is what I have found recorded of his excellence. I find the date of the affair in which he was killed stated to have been the year 323 A. H. [A. D. 934]. I have read a book in which it is stated that he met his death in the following manner. A woman of the people of el-Ghashb of el-Rosták was drying grain in the sun, when a sheep came and ate some of it, on seeing which the woman cast a stone and broke the sheep's leg. Another woman who owned the sheep, then came up and began beating the first woman, who cried to her people to aid her. One of her friends came up and also one of the other woman's friends, and each side being augmented by fresh arrivals a severe contest commenced. The Imám Sa'íd-bin 'Abdullah repaired to the scene with a single attendant for the purpose of separating the combatants, and was killed in the mêlée. God knows the truth of this.

THE IMA'M RA'SHID-BIN EL-WALÍ'D. The next Imám was Ráshid-bin-el-Walíd, who was elected in the following manner: There assembled together the Sheykh Abú-Mohammed 'Abdullah-bin Mohammed-bin Abul-Múathir and Abú-Mes'úd el-Na'mán-bin 'Abdul-Hamíd, and Abú-Mohammed 'Abdullah-bin Mohammed-bin Shíkheh. And amongst those present at the ceremony were Abú-'Othmán Ramshaqí-bin Ráshid and Abú-Mohammed 'Abdullah-bin Mohammed-bin Šálih and Abú-Manthir-bin Abú-Mohammed-bin Rúh. These persons who assembled on this occasion were respected and distinguished in the same degree as were those who elected the Imám Sa'íd-bin 'Abdullah in their time. No persons of sense denied their excellence nor ignored their uprightness, and of their contemporaries in the same Faith none were comparable to them. Thus “there are men for every time, as there is a word for every occasion.” People of every age desire the general welfare of their religion. This is proverbial. The authority was with those who were present and not with the absent. Those who bore witness could not alter, and those who did not could not demur. He who gave admittance could not expel, nor could the affirmer deny his word.

Now it was known to this assembly that there was an adversity of sentiment amongst the members, and that mutual recrimination had place with regard to the affair of Músá-bin Músá, and Ráshid-bin el-Nadhr. Wherefore, when they had resolved to elect Ráshid-bin el-Walíd Imám, they deemed it expedient to summon a general council, to come to an

agreement as to the course to be adopted in that matter. Accordingly, a great number of the elect of the true Faith assembled in the house at Nezwá, in which Ráshid-bin el-Walíd used to reside. All of those we have named as having been present at the election of Ráshid-bin el-Walíd attended except Abú-Mes'úd-el-Na'mán, who was absent. The President of the Council was Abú-Mohammed 'Abdullah-bin Mohammed-bin Abul-Múathir. They unanimously resolved to adopt a policy of neutrality as between Músá-bin Músá and Ráshid-bin el-Nadhr, and to hold aloof from both as regarded the Government, granting at the same time that both were sincere believers in their religion. We know not of any of them that he acted wrongfully in either of these courses. The matter, then, was settled amongst them in this fashion; although the wording as to details may be more or less incomplete, still, the general result was as stated.⁴ Having agreed on this course, they thereupon proceeded to swear allegiance to the Imám Ráshid-bin el-Walíd, binding him to administer the duties of his office in obedience to God and his Apostle; to govern uprightly and repress crime; to prosecute wars in defence of the Faith as a Dáfi'í Imám; and further to tread in the footsteps of the just Imáms, his predecessors, in imitation of their virtue and uprightness. On such conditions did Abú-Mohammed-bin Abil-Múathir swear fealty in the house at Nezwá, and after him, in the same manner, Abú-Mes'úd and the rest of the assembly. The Imám having accepted their vows, they went forth to the open plain at Nezwá, where a vast concourse of the people of 'Omán had collected. They had come not only from Nezwá, but from the various towns of the East and the West of 'Omán, and the assemblage was composed of persons of unimpeachable integrity, holding positions of rank and authority. They all assented to and obeyed the decision of the Council without the slightest sign of repugnance or disapproval. Then arose Abú-Mohammed 'Abdullah-bin Mohammed-bin Shikheh, and approaching Ráshid hailed him as Imám, and announced to the people that the Council had elected him, commanding them to vow their allegiance. This they did openly and willingly without a dissentient voice. Some of the persons referred to made their vows separately, and in other cases in parties; and for some time people kept arriving for the purpose of making the compact, until the whole kingdom had declared for the new Imám. Some appeared in person to swear allegiance, others saluted him as Imám,⁵ whilst others again proved their minds by exhibiting a ready submission. The Imám had no occasion to use force, as no secret disaffection existed. He sent his governors and agents to all the districts and villages, and no one molested them. He performed the Friday service at Nezwá, and he and his agents collected the şadaqát⁶, or poor-rate. He also reviewed the troops, presenting standards and issuing all necessary orders. His receipts on account of the revenues of the kingdom were large,

and every district of 'Omán acknowledged his authority as Sultán,⁷ and none rebelled against it in those days. All paid what was his due and openly acknowledged him as Imám, without the exercise on his part of any severity, open or secret, or any form of intimidation. On the other hand, there was no display of weak leniency, nor undue conciliation; nor was it necessary for him to work on the sordid feelings and hopes of profit of those who dissemble their fears, and betray others for gain or ambition. He was gentle to his subjects, and acted in harmony with their opinions, kindly indulgent to their defects and faults and pleased with their virtues. He was impartial in his judgment between all classes, whether noble, religious, poor, or rich. Those at a distance received equal consideration with those present. All were received with hospitality, and assiduous attention given to their affairs. He was accustomed also to consult with those below him in rank and to avail himself of their advice. Thus he continued to take on himself the burden of the cases of his subjects, sacrificing his own enjoyments and the society of those he loved for their good; and he ceased not in the same manner to bear patiently the misfortunes and deprivation of enjoyment and separation from friends, which his subjects caused him to suffer. He had to endure slander and injury,⁸ calamity, and indignity, and bore all with patience, trusting to God for better times. Many of his subjects were watching for an opportunity to injure him, and in secret entertained most evil designs against him. "Iniquity appears in the countenances of the unbelievers, and their breasts hide not hatred and envy."⁹ The Evil one had gained the mastery over their minds, and an evil fate and their own animosities overcame them. Some amongst them, whilst seeking his ruin, pretended friendship outwardly. If God gave him success, they feigned to rejoice and congratulate him. If, however, success attended the enemy, they would abandon him on pretence of inability to assist, asserting that if they only had the power, they would fight against the enemies of the Truth. Many proffered aid in words, whilst in secret abandoning his cause. Others again assisted him from interested motives, but only nominally and without sincerity. If good befel, they took advantage of it, but in time of adversity turned their backs. In short, it is impossible to enumerate the various evil motives by which they were actuated. Exception may be made in the case of a few persons who had not power to assist him, who saw they could not mend a hopeless cause by remaining faithful.

At length his affairs reached such a point that his people opposed and abandoned him, and the nobles conspired together to enter into intrigues against his power with the Sultán whom they prepared to support. The Imám made strong attempts to prevent this, and fierce enmity ensued between him and his subjects, who separated from him at the town of Bahlá,

and went forth obstinately in open rebellion, resolved on his downfall. The Sultán meanwhile had been advancing to el-Sirr, whilst the Imám, being deserted by the main body of his army who were now opposed to him, had only a small and weak body of followers. He had only left Nezwá indeed in hopes of inducing them to abandon their intention of going forth to join the approaching foe. Finding himself deserted and rebelled against, and unable with his small party to oppose the Sultán, he feared to be surprised in the place, and withdrew with his followers from Bahlá to Kadam.¹⁰ He hoped that by this step he had ensured his safety and kept on his guard. He remained at Kadam until he ascertained that the enemy had entered el-Jowf, when he became alarmed, and removed with a small party of attendants to Wádí el-Nakhr.¹¹

He then busied himself actively in endeavouring to raise a force to oppose the Sultán, and at length succeeded in assembling a sufficient number of allies and adherents to commence active operations against the enemy. By this time the Sultán was encamped at Nezwá. By the advice of those present of his kinsmen and well-wishers, who thought it best in the interests of Islám, the Imám remained behind the army which he sent against the tyrant Sultán at Nezwá. He took his position close to the pass to Manh, so he was not distant from them. As God had ordained, his army was defeated and put to flight and dispersed, and the Imám went forth vanquished and panic-stricken, seeking safety from his pursuers. The battle occurred in the forenoon, and by evening he found himself abandoned by all his followers, a prey to terror and deprived of all hope of the success of his people.

The tyrant Sultán then reduced all 'Omán with its various districts to submission. The people sought to ingratiate themselves with the Sultán, who, on his part, deluded and beguiled them, until all the districts had submitted to his rule. Meanwhile the Imám lay concealed amongst the heights of the mountains and in desert places, in fear alike from the Sultán and from his own subjects, dreading to meet death at every place, and in terror of being surprised in his sleep. Whilst he was thus a fugitive from home and family in terror of his life, the people of his kingdom were dwelling in their houses in peace and security, having artfully conciliated the Sultán and ingratiated themselves with him. There was nothing to induce the Imám to withhold his submission; indeed there was no other course open to him but submission, as no further effort was possible. He deliberated concerning his position and consulted with persons of sound judgment. He acted in accordance with the decisions and sanctions of people of piety, who pronounced an opinion, which, as far as we know is incontrovertible, that a Dáfi'í Imám is justified in practising "religious dissimulation"¹² when abandoned by his subjects. And we know not of a more signal

instance of desertion and rebellion on the part of the subjects against their Sovereign. But God is merciful and beneficent, and He provides for His servants an escape from every difficulty in matters of religion, and grants an excuse for all who are helpless. The Imám and his people alike suffered in accordance with the decrees of Fate. He accordingly returned to his home and made his submission, hoping to remain in unmolested retirement. A messenger came to him from the Sultán with an assurance of safety, but he seems to have given the promise verbally and not on oath. The Imám abstained from frequenting the Sultán's levées until the latter came to him and forcibly insisted on his doing so. By this act of submission his Imám-ate, in our opinion, terminated forthwith; and this furnished an evident excuse for the establishment of the rule of his rival. We have not heard that, during his administration of the Imámate and the vicissitudes which befel, any reproach or blame attached to Ráshid-bin el-Walíd. He lived for a short time after these events, admired by all, and was much regretted when he died. In his time, Ráshid-bin el-Walíd was humble in spirit, and none of the pious found fault with him on account of any of his actions. May God requite el-Islám and its people for the loss of one who acted justly and uprightly! and may He recompense us all and all who knew his excellence, as a people is recompensed for their Imám, a brother for a brother!

We have recounted only a portion of the virtues of Ráshid-bin el-Walíd, which we trust will not be questioned, but much more might have been added on this subject. For he was endowed with every virtue, so much so in fact, that his good qualities are proverbial, and such as to baffle all attempts to recount them. His fall dated from the battle of Nezwá, after which, deserted by his own subjects, he was obliged to dissimulate and seek the favour of the Sultán; for there was no refuge for him from the confines of Júlfár to the borders of Ra'wán; neither in the hills of 'Atáleh, nor in the land of el-Haddán, nor el-Rosták. Everywhere was bitterness and vileness, and every foe treated him with obloquy.¹³

THE IMA'M EL-KHALIL-BIN SHA'THA'N. Amongst the Imáms elected in 'Omán was el-Khalil-bin Sháthán, who probably reigned in the beginning of the 5th century of the Hijrah.

THE IMA'M RA'SHID-BIN SA'ID. Next was Ráshid-bin Sa'id, who died in the month of Moharram, A. H. 445. [A. D. 1053.]

Verse.

“ We mourn not for the loss of goats or sheep or camels; but when one dies whose loss brings death to many, then is real woe.”

THE IMA'M MOHAMMED-BIN HABI'S. On the day of his death, Mohammed-bin Habís was invested as Imám by Nijád-bin Músá, the Kádhí of the

late Imám, and the preceptor Abú-Bekr Ahmed-bin Mohammed pronounced the khotbeh. This was in 510 A. H. [A. D. 1116.]

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THE IMA'M MOHAMMED-BIN KHANBASH. Afterwards, Mohammed-bin Khanbash became Imám. He died in 557 A. H. [A. D. 1162], and was buried by the small black hill, called Jebel Thú-Juyúd, near Feleij el-Kantak. His death occasioned greater suffering to the people of 'Omán than that of any previous Imám.

THE IMA'M HAFS-BIN RA'SHID. His son Hafş-bin Ráshid was then elected.

THE IMA'M RA'SHID-BIN 'ALI'. Then came Ráshid-bin 'Alí, who died on Sunday, in the middle of Thul-Ḳa'deh, A. H. 476. In one work, however, the date of his death is placed at A. H. 513. God knows which of the dates is most correct.¹⁴

THE IMA'M MU'SA-BIN ABÚ-JA'BIR. Then was elected Músá-bin Jábir-el-Mu'álí-bin Músá-bin Nejád, who died in the year 549 A. H. [A. D. 1153.] I have translated the following passage from the MS. work of the learned 'Othmán-bin Músá-bin Mohammed-bin 'Othmán, who lived in the quarter named el-Jarmah of 'Akr at Nezwá.

THE IMA'M HABI'S-BIN MOHAMMED. THE IMA'M MA'LIK-BIN EL-HAWA'RI'.

On the 17th of Jumádí-el-Awwal,¹⁵ died the Imám Habís-bin Mohammed-bin Hishám, whose death was a severe affliction to the people. Málik-bin el-Hawári became Imám in the year 809 [A. D. 1406], and died in 832 A. H. [A. D. 1429]. I have not discovered accounts of any Imáms during the interval that here elapses of a little more than two hundred years.¹⁶ God knows whether those were years of an interregnum during which no Imám was elected, or whether the names of the Imáms have been lost to us.¹⁷ I have, however, found an account of an expedition of the people of Shíráz against 'Omán, under Fakhr el-dín Ahmed-bin el-Dáyah and Shiháb el-dín with 4,500 horsemen. The people of 'Omán endured extreme suffering from these invaders. They ejected the principal persons of el-'Akr at Nezwá from their houses, and remained in this manner for four months in 'Omán. They also besieged Bahlá, but were unable to take it. Ibn-Dáyah having died, God caused their fall. The people also suffered from a severe famine. That was in the reign of the Sultán 'Omár-bin Nebhán in the year 674 A. H.¹⁸ [A. D. 1279]. I have also lighted on an account of an expedition of one of the Amírs of Hormúz, named Mahmúd-bin Ahmed el-Káshí, who landed at the town of Ḳalhát.¹⁹ At that time Abul-Ma'álí-Kahlán-bin Nebhán and his brother 'Omar-bin Nebhán ruled over 'Omán. On arrival at Ḳalhát, Mahmúd summoned Abul Ma'álí, who told him that he held possession of

only one district of 'Omán, whereupon Mahmúd replied, "Take as many of my soldiers as you please, and proceed against those of 'Omán who oppose you." Abul-Ma'álí then told him that the people of 'Omán had not the means of paying tribute. All this he said with a view to protect the people of 'Omán. Mahmúd dissimulated his hostile feelings, and sought to gain his end by stratagem; so he invited all the Bedouin chiefs of 'Omán and gave them presents, on which they promised him victory over the people of 'Omán and engaged to join him. He then proceeded by sea to Dhafár.²⁰ Arrived there, he slaughtered many of the inhabitants, plundered much property, and returned towards 'Omán. He embarked his baggage in vessels, and performed the first part of the journey by sea. When subsequently they landed and proceeded by land route, their provisions failed, and they were beset by hunger. So great was the scarcity, that a *mann* of meat sold for a *dínár*.²¹ They also suffered greatly from thirst, water being scarce on that route. It is said that 5,000 of his men died, and some say more. This was in the year 660 A. H. [A. D. 1262]. I have also found another narrative of an expedition of the Owlád el-Reís²² against 'Omán. They set out in the end of Showwál, A. H. 675 [A. D. 1276]. At that time the ruler²³ of 'Omán was the Seyyid²⁴ Kahlán-bin 'Omar-bin Nebhán, who advanced by the desert to oppose them, accompanied by all the people of el-'Akr. The Owlád el-Reís surprised el-'Akr, entered it, and burned its market places. They plundered the place of all it contained, carried off the women, and burned the magazines and the principal mosque. The books were likewise burned. All this occurred in the space of half a day. Kahlán thereupon returned with his force, and united with his detached parties. The Owlád el-Reís and their allies of the el-Haddán attacked Kahlán's army, and in the battle which ensued 300 men were slain.

It is probable that during the interval between Mohammed-bin Khanbash and Málik-bin el-Hawárí, the government was in the hands of the el-Nebáheneh, but God knows! It seems probable, also, that they held power for more than 500 years, with this qualification that, after the term of years referred to, Imáms were elected, the Nebáheneh being rulers in some districts, and the Imáms being recognized in the rest.²⁵ God knows!

THE IMA'M ABUL-HASAN-BIN KHAMI'S. Seven years after the decease of Málik-bin el-Hawárí, Abul-Hasan-bin Khamís-bin 'Ámir²⁶ was elected Imám. This was on Thursday in the month of Ramadhán, in the year 839, A. H. [A. D. 1435]. He died on Saturday, the 21st of Thul-Ḳa'deh, A. H. 846. [A. D. 1442.]

THE IMA'M 'OMAR-BIN KHATTA B. In the year 885 A. H. [A. D. 1481], they elected the Imám 'Omar-bin Khaṭṭáb-bin Mohammed-bin Ahmed-bin Shídán-bin Ṣalt.²⁷ He it was who seized the property of the Benú-Nebhán, and divided it amongst those about him of his own sect.²⁸ He took the

administration of this property into his own hands. This was by the unanimous wish of the Musalmáns, who assembled and held inquiry regarding the bloodshed and the property unlawfully seized and appropriated by the *Ál-Nebhán*. It was found that it was more than their possessions.²⁹ The *Kádhí* under the Imám 'Omar-bin *Khattáb* was *Abú-'Abdullah Mohammed-bin Suleimán-bin Ahmed-bin Mufarrij*, and he appointed Mohammed-bin 'Omar-bin Mufarrij agent for those of the Musalmáns of 'Omán who had suffered injustice at the hands of the *Ál-Nebhán*. Ahmed-bin 'Omar acted in like capacity for the *Ál-Nebhán* Princes. Ahmed-bin *Šálih-bin Mohammed-bin 'Omar* adjudged the whole of the property of the *Ál-Nebhán*, their lands, plantations, tenements, arms, utensils, water-runs, dykes, in fact all they possessed of dwellings, wells, furniture, and goods, to those whom they had oppressed. Mohammed-bin 'Omar accepted this decree for those of the people of 'Omán who had suffered injury, whether living or dead, old or young, male or female. By this decisive decree the property in question could be claimed by those injured. Many, however, were unknown, and their claims forgotten, and it was impossible in such cases to distribute the shares. All such unclaimed shares of the property were ordered to be given to the poor, it also being decreed that, whilst there was a just Imám reigning, he was the most fitting person to receive such property awarded to the poor, and to expend it for the glory and maintenance of the government of the Musalmáns. All persons who established their claims, were to receive their shares of the property of the *Benú-Nebhán*. On the property being awarded, an estimate was to be made of what was due in arrears for the yearly produce of such property, if the claimant had the necessary information, but if he was unable to estimate this, that portion of the claim was to come under the head of unknown claims, and to be assigned to the poor, and taken charge of by the Imám as above. This decree was confirmed and ordered to be carried into execution. "If any should alter it after hearing it, verily the guilt is on those who shall alter it, for God hears and knows."³⁰

This order was passed on Wednesday evening, seven days before the end of *Jumádí el-Ákhir*, in the year 887 A. H. [A. D. 1482]. This occurred in the second reign of the Imám 'Omar. For one year after his first election *Suleimán-bin Suleimán* rose against him, and his army was defeated at *Himat* in *Wádí Semáíl*. Afterwards he was re-elected. He was succeeded by

THE IMA'M MOHAMMED-BIN SULEIMA'N BIN AHMED-BIN MUFARRIJ, the *Kádhí*, in the year of the *Hijreh* 894 [A. D. 1489.] He was deposed and

THE IMA'M 'OMAR-EL-SHERI'F was elected in his place and reigned for one year, after which he retired to *Bahlá*. The people of *Nezwá* then re-installed Mohammed-bin *Suleimán*.

THE IMA'M AHMED-BIN-'OMAR. Next was Ahmed-bin 'Omar-bin Mohammed el-Zenjí.

THE IMA'M ABUL-HASAN-BIN 'ABD-EL-SELA'M. Then Abul Hasan-bin 'Abd-el-Selám reigned as Imám for less than a year, and was overthrown by Suleimán-bin-Suleimán, who made war against him.

THE IMA'M MOHA'MMED-BIN SULEIMA'N was then set up once more, and remained in power for a few days.

THE IMA'M MOHAMMED-BIN ISMA'I'L. The next Imám was Mohammed-bin Ismá'il el-Ismá'ilí, who resided in the quarter of Wádí el-Gharbíyeh on the road which leads to the Mazár gate.³¹ The cause of his being chosen was that Suleimán-bin Suleimán assaulted a woman, who was bathing at el-'Antak. The woman rushed out of the stream naked and fled from him. Suleimán chased her as far as the Wádí, when they were perceived by Mohammed-bin Ismá'il, who seized Suleimán, threw him down, and held him there until the woman had escaped into el-'Akr, when he let him go his ways. The Musalmáns were so pleased at this proof of his strength to do right and oppose wickedness, that they elected him Imám in the year 906 A. H. [A. D. 1500.]

He died on Thursday, nine days before the end of Showwál, A. H. 942³² [A. D. 1535.] His son

THE IMA'M BARAKA'T-BIN MOHAMMED-BIN ISMA'I'L was installed on the same day on which his father died.

On Saturday, ten days before the end of the month of Moharram, A. H. 965 [A. D. 1557], Barakát evacuated the fort of Bahlá, which was forcibly seized by Mohammed-bin Jafír-bin 'Alí-bin Hilál. Previous to this, however, in the year 964 A. H. [A. D. 1556], the powerful Sulṭán, Sulṭán-bin Mohsin-bin Suleimán-bin Nebhán had taken possession of Nezwá. Mohammed-bin Jafír continued to hold possession of the Fortress of Bahlá until the 'Al-'Omeyr bought it from him for three hundred laks. The 'Al-'Omeyr entered the Fort of Bahlá on Tuesday, nine days before the end of Jumádí el-Akhir, A. H. 967. [A. D. 1559.]

It seems probable that 'Omar-bin Kásim el-Fadheylí was Imám in the time of Barakát-bin Mohammed-bin Ismá'il, but this is not certain.

THE IMA'M 'ABDULLAH-BIN MOHAMMED. On Friday, fifteen days remaining of the month of Rejeb, A. H. 967 [A. D. 1559], the Imám 'Abdullah-bin Mohammed el-Karan was invested at Manh, and on Monday, two days before the end of the same month, he entered the Fort of Bahlá.

On Wednesday, three days before the end of the month of Ramadhán, A. H. 969 [A. D. 1561], Barakát-bin Mohammed-bin Ismá'il re-entered the Fort of Bahlá, which was vacated by 'Abdullah-bin Mohammed el-Karan. The learned theologian Ahmed-bin Maddád denounced both Mohammed-bin Ismá'il and his son Barakát. He says in his work—"The religion which we profess, and in which we worship God, enjoins renunciation of Mohammed-bin Ismá'il on account of his having forcibly levied zekát³³ from his

“subjects, whilst neglecting to protect them and prevent oppression. For it has been rightly handed down as an article of the religion of the Musalmáns that the “Jezíah”³⁴ or the “Şadaqát” cannot be lawfully levied except by rulers who prevent the unjust and oppressive levy of exactions. According to the religion of the Musulmáns, their means of subsistence cannot be taxed in a land where they are not afforded protection and security.”³⁵

Likewise Mohammed-bin Mahbúb said that our Imám cannot lawfully levy taxes, nor receive the free offerings from a people whom he fails to protect from oppression. If he does so, he acts unjustly towards them, and there is no difference between him and the oppressors who plunder the people. The Imám must not take aught from such people, and must refrain from appointing governors over them without protecting them. The religion of the Musalmáns also forbids the levy of both *kharáj*³⁶ and *zekát* from one and the same class of the subjects. Serving Almighty God, we repudiate Mohammed-bin Ismá‘íl on account of his oppression of his subjects in forcing sales of the zekát due on the produce of the date plantations, in accordance with the arbitrary estimates of his agents, and in forcibly insisting on it being levied at that valuation to the injury of the people. For the forced purchase of the zekát on grain and dates, either in advance or after receipt, is not allowed by the religion of el-Islám. Such is prohibited by the book and the law and by accord of the peoples. Forced sales also are forbidden except in cases of storing up against times of famine or refusal to satisfy just claims. There is no difference of opinion in this matter. So we renounce and hold ourselves free from the guilt of Mohammed-bin Ismá‘íl and his son Barakát.

Book V.

Account of the later Princes of the el-Nebáheneh, and others, up to the accession of the Imám Náşir-bin Murshid. A.D. 1560 to A.D. 1624.

It is related that when Sultán-bin Mohsin died, (which event occurred on Monday, eleven days before the end of Rabí‘ ul-Akhir, A. H. 973, [A. D. 1565]) he left three sons, Tahyás-bin Sultán, Sultán-bin Sultán, and Modhaffar-bin Sultán. The last named was foremost of them in the Government until he died, on a Saturday in the month of el-Moharram, in the year 996 A. H. [A. D. 1588.]. He left a young son, named Suleimán, who, on account of his youth, was incapable of assuming the reins of Government. His uncle Felláh-bin Mohsin, who was Málik of Maqínát,¹ on hearing of the death of Modhaffar, came to Bahlá, and assumed the Government in his brother’s place. He continued to govern for seven years when he died. Suleimán-bin Modhaffar succeeded him when only twelve years of age, and ruled supreme in ‘Omán and all its districts, levying

taxes from the people by fair or forcible means, from those at a distance, as well as those close by. The people of Nezwá collected to oppose him, and amongst the rebellious was a Jabarí, named Mohammed-bin Jafír, who had a large force under his command. Suleimán-bin Modhaffar and 'Arrár-bin Felláh accompanied by Náşir-bin Kaţan and his followers marched against the rebels: and in the battle which ensued, Mohammed-bin Jafír was killed and his army defeated. Náşir-bin Kaţan, who was watching the result, interfered to prevent further slaughter.

Mohammed-bin Jafír left a young son, named Mohammed, whose mother was a daughter of 'Omeyr-bin 'Ámir. Suleimán-bin Modhaffar espoused this lady, when her husband was killed, and spent the cold weather with her in the plains of el-Shemál, leaving his cousin 'Arrár-bin Felláh to act for him at Bahlá.

Mohenná-bin Mohammed el-Hadeyfí was at that time Málik of Şohár. Having received intelligence that the Persians were preparing to attack him, he sent to ask Suleimán-bin Modhaffar to assist him against them. The latter consented and proceeded with his forces to Şohár, where the army was completely organized. The Persians arrived by sea, and a severe fight occurred, which resulted in the defeat of the Persians and the slaughter of a great number of their army. After this, Suleimán returned to his residence at Bahlá. He had with him his cousins 'Arrár, Nebhán, and Makhzúm, sons of Felláh-bin Mohsin,² of whom there were ten in all. 'Arrár was the first of them, and his brother Nebhán had no will but his. El-'Arrár was Prince (Melik) of el-Dháhireh, and Suleimán bestowed on Makhzúm the district of Yanqal.

Of the cousins of Suleimán there was also Himyer-bin Háfidh, who had four sons, Háfidh-bin Himyer, Sultán-bin Himyer, Kahlán-bin Himyer, and Húd-bin Himyer. The first of these died a year after the return to Bahlá. There were in Suleimán's service also his relations Muhenná-bin-Mohammed-bin Háfidh and 'Alí-bin 'Thahal-bin Mohammed-bin Háfidh.

Suleimán had Wazírs at el-Kareiyeh and amongst the el-Nizár of Azkí and at Semed el-Shán. The latter place belonged to the el-Jahádhim tribe, whom Suleimán treated with severity. They were forced to fly from his violence and power, and remained dispersed in the districts for the space of thirty years, fearing to return to the town.

The Benú-Hináh clan was held in the highest estimation by Sulaimán-bin Modhaffar, and they were a most numerous, powerful, and warlike tribe. The leaders of this tribe were Khalf-bin Abú-Sa'id, and Seif-bin Mohammad-bin Abú-Sa'id, men renowned amongst the people of their time. There were two tribes of the people of Seikam, the Benú-Ma'an and Benú-Neyyer, both cognate to, and allies of, the Benú-Hináh. A feud broke out between these two tribes, arising from a quarrel

between two women, and because of the mutilation of a camel, and they became divided; the Benú Ma'an with the Benú-Shakeyl joining Suleimán-bin-Modhaffar, and the Benú-Nayyer joining the Benú-Hináh. On this, Khalf-bin Abú-Sa'id went to his house at Dárseyt³ with his cousins. Suleimán-bin Modhaffar was then in the desert, and when he heard what had occurred, he sent to his Wazír Mohammed-bin Khanjar, desiring him to tell Khalf to desist from interference with the tribe (Benú-Ma'an).

The Wazír sent to Khalf accordingly, but finding he did not stop his proceedings, he reported to his master that Khalf would not attend to his orders. Suleimán then sent instructions to his Wazír to operate against the property of the Benú-Hináh at Kadam, and the Wazír ordered this to be destroyed. As this property belonged to the Sheykh Khalf, this occasioned a rupture between him and Suleimán, and in reprisal Sheykh Khalf ordered his cousins to make a raid on Bahlá. This they did, and they killed many of the inhabitants of that place. The Wazír Mohammed-bin Khanjar then wrote to inform Suleimán of what had occurred at Bahlá. On hearing this intelligence, Suleimán returned from el-Shemál to Bahlá, and endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with the Benú-Hináh.⁴ In this he was unsuccessful, and both sides prepared for a struggle; and the Sultán Suleimán collected all his available forces to attack the Benú-Hináh. As soon as the Sheykh Khalf heard of this, he sent to ask aid of the Amír⁵ 'Omeyr-bin Himyer, the Prince of Semáíl, against Suleimán-bin Modhaffar. 'Omeyr consented and came from Semáíl with his followers. Suleimán, being apprised of this movement, marched with his forces to Ghobrah, near Bahlá, and there encountered 'Omeyr-bin Himyer. A battle was fought which lasted for an hour, and which resulted in Suleimán returning to Bahlá, and the Amír 'Omeyr to Semáíl, the latter leaving some of his men in Dárseyt. The Amír was a person of noble and prudent disposition. On his arrival at Semáíl, he sent to the Benú-Jahádhim who were dispersed in various villages. They came at his summons, and a friendly alliance was established. He next sent to the Sultán of el-Rosták, Málik-bin Abul-'Arab, to invite him to Semáíl, who accepted his invitation, and with him went also Abul-Hasan 'Alí-bin Kaṭan. From Semáíl they proceeded with the Benú-Jahádhim to Samed el-Shán, where they entrenched themselves. The Amír left with them some of his own clansmen and whatever provisions, water, and munitions of war they required, and returned himself to Semáíl. As to Suleimán-bin Modhaffar and the Benú-Hináh, there was incessant warfare between them.

The Amír 'Omeyr-bin Himyer and the Sultán Málik-bin Abul-'Arab betook themselves to Nezwá to watch the cause of events. Now Málik-bin Abul-'Arab had a Wazír in 'Einí of el-Rosták, and certain inmates of his house ejected the Wazír. Next, one of the inhabitants of 'Einí repaired

to Suleimán-bin Mudhaffar, and sought his aid against the hostile faction. Suleimán sent some of his men under 'Arrár-bin Felláh to their assistance. When the Sultán Málik-bin Abul-'Arab heard what had occurred in his home, he prepared to set out to return thither. The Amír, however, said to him: "Stay with us and fear not, for this affair promises happy results." He asked how that could be with the enemy in his house. The Amír replied, "That is my affair: and, please God, I shall be victorious. God (whose name be exalted!) has said, 'Difficulty and ease go hand in hand.'" The poet says—

"When events overwhelm, and the spirit is ready to sink beneath them; when misfortunes descend and patience is failing,—still in the end comes relief."

The Benú-Hináh then invited the Amír 'Omeyr-bin Himyer to advance with his men, promising to give them admission to Bahlá. He accordingly proceeded a part of the way with his forces, but, deeming them too weak in numbers, he returned to Nezwá. Meanwhile the Benú-Hináh were in expectation of his arrival on the night fixed for his entry. On his failing to join them, the Sheykh Seyf-bin Mohammed went from Dárseyt to Nezwá to see him, and a stormy discussion ensued between them, the Sheykh censuring the conduct of the Amír. The latter ended by desiring the Sheykh to take as many of his men as he pleased. The Sheykh accordingly took a great number of men and proceeded to Dárseyt, whilst the Amír awaited the result at Nezwá. Suleimán-bin Mudhaffar was informed that the enemy's force had marched from Nezwá to Dárseyt, some saying their object was el-Kareyeh, others Seyfam, and others again Bahlá. So Suleimán divided his army, placing a division at Káreyeh and another at Seyfam. He also built a fort to cover Felej el-Juzyein, fearing an attack in that quarter, and placed a detachment in it. Of the rest of his forces some were stationed at Bahlá, and a detachment at el-Khadhrá. He also posted men in the el-Gháf quarter.

Himyer-bin Háfidh with some of his retainers held the principal mosque of the town, the rest of his men being placed in el-'Akr. His cousin 'Arrár-bin Felláh with his followers was at 'Einí of el-Rosták.

Seyf-bin Mohammed proceeded with his force from Dárseyt with the intention of occupying Bahlá. They first entered from the western side, scaling the outer wall. This design they carried out so skilfully, that their entry was not discovered by any one. Seyf then divided his force into three parties, one for the right, one for the left, and the third in the centre; the latter being opposite the chief mosque of the town. In this manner he occupied positions well chosen for further operations. Subsequently, in the fighting which took place, many of Suleimán's chiefs and warriors were slain, and he retained only the Fort and el-

Khadhrá. Scyf-bin Mohammed then proclaimed an amnesty, and was joined by many of the towns-people.

When the news reached the Amír 'Omeyr at Nezwá that his men had entered Bahlá, he set out accompanied by the Amír Sultán-bin Mohammed, and the Sultán Málik-bin Abul-'Arab, and el-Manşúr 'Alí-bin Kaţan and the people of Nezwá. Khalf-bin Abú-Sa'íd el-Hináí also moved with his followers from Dárseyt to assist their comrades. They entered Bahlá by night, and the Amír 'Omeyr alighted in the el-Gháf quarter. El-Khadhrá was held for the Sultán Suleimán by 'Alí-bin Thahal with a large force; and the Amír sent word to them inviting them to evacuate the place with their flags.⁶ 'Alí-bin Thahal went amongst his men exhorting them to hold out, but they refused to obey him, and prepared to leave the place.

Meanwhile 'Arrár-bin Felláh, who was at 'Einí of el-Rosták, hearing of the enemy's entry of Bahlá, immediately marched with his followers to el-Kareyeh.

The siege of the Fort of Bahlá continued, and it was surrounded by the enemy. The besiegers constructed a wooden tower on a tamarind tree in the market-place during the night. In this one of the el-Jahádhim, named Jum'ah-bin Mohammed, esconced himself and shot one of the garrison. Another such tower was built by the Amír on the mosque, and its occupant also shot one of Suleimán's soldiers in the upper part of the Fort.

The besiegers at length demolished the wall of the Fort during the night. Suleimán's men, however, opposed them and prevented their entry. Then the garrison, fearing to be slain, asked permission of Suleimán to evacuate the place. Still they held out for thirteen days more, when, Suleimán having given permission, they asked the Amír 'Omeyr to allow them to march out. He allowed them to pass out with their personal effects, and sent his Wazír to see them safe. Suleimán-bin Mudhaffar with his cousins and followers went forth from Bahlá, and proceeded to el-Kareyeh, whence he and 'Arrár went to el-Dháhireh.

The Amír 'Omeyr then ordered the Fort of Bahlá to be razed to the ground, which was done, and not a wall nor a building was left standing. Thus is manifested the power of God, who bestows kingdoms on whomsoever He willeth.

'Omeyr then left Khalf-bin Abú-Sa'íd in charge of Bahlá and returned to Semáil. Khalf had been only four months in Bahlá, when he was attacked by Suleimán-bin Mudhaffar and his cousin 'Arrár-bin Felláh, who entered el-Khadhrá whilst he was in el-'Akr. This occurred on the 4th of Rabí 'ul-Awwal, A. H. 1019 [A. D. 1610]; and at that time Seyf-bin Mohammed with some of his followers was in el-Sirr. Suleimán-bin Mudhaffar sent to Khalf-bin Abú-Sa'íd, and offered him the option of

marching out with his personal effects, and Khalf accepted this offer after obtaining an amnesty for the people of the district. Some of the latter remained in their abodes, others went forth from fear of the Sultán.

When Seyf-bin Mohammed heard of these occurrences, he returned from el-Sirr, and the Amír 'Omeyr also, aware of his movements, marched from Semáíl to Nezwá and thence on to el-Kareyeh, which he took and made over to Seyf-bin Mohammed to hold for him. The Amír then returned to Nezwá, where he remained some days watching events.

Soon after, Suleimán-bin Mudhaffar died, leaving a son of tender years, and 'Arrár-bin Felláh assumed the Government of Bahlá. Seyf-bin Mohammed then proceeded to Nezwá, and, taking a large force from the Amír 'Omeyr, went to el-Kareyeh, where they halted for seven days. Thence they marched on Bahlá, and entered the quarter called Abú-Mán, and besieged 'Arrár-bin Felláh for some days. Then he sent them on their ways with their arms, &c., and the Fort of el-Kareyeh remained in his hands, and he spent some years in repairing it.

This entry (?) took place on 6th of Şafar, A. H. 1024.⁷ [A. D. 1615.]

After him Mudhaffar-bin Suleimán held power, but he died after two months.

Makhzúm-bin Felláh then governed for two months, after which Nebhán and Seyf-bin Mohammed rose against him to eject him from the Fort. They allowed him at his request to march out without arms or effects. He proceeded to Yançal in el-Dháhireh.

Nebhán-bin Felláh was the next to rule. He placed his cousin 'Alí-bin Thahal as his representative in Bahlá and after him Seyf-bin Mohammed. Nebhán-bin Felláh then went to his home at Maḡaníyát after removing his cousin Sultán-bin Himyer from Bahlá, fearing lest he should usurp the government. The latter went to Şohár, and Seyf-bin Mohammed held his place for a year. God knows!

After that the Amír 'Omeyr-bin Himyer went up with his followers to Bahlá, but, being opposed by Seyf-bin Mohammed, he returned with his troops to Nezwá to watch events. After a while, 'Omeyr again marched to Bahlá and entered el-'Ákr. Seyf-bin Mohammed, who happened to be at Dárseyt at the time, on hearing of 'Omeyr's movement, marched with his followers and entered the Fort unopposed. Thence he wrote to Nebhán-bin Felláh, informing him that the enemy had entered the town, and requesting him to come with the men he had with him. He was some days collecting his force, and meanwhile the Amír 'Omeyr had occupied all the strong positions in the district. Seyf-bin Mohammed continued to hold the Fort with his men, expecting Nebhán to succour him, but the latter did not appear. 'Omeyr-bin Himyer sent to offer him safe-conduct out, but Seyf declined, hoping for the arrival of Nebhán. When, however, he despaired of

this, he accepted the terms, and was allowed to march out with his men with all their effects. Seyf then went to el-Ḳareyeh, and 'Omeyr remained for some time at Bahlá, after which he sent to Seyf-bin Mohammed, and a reconciliation took place between them. Seyf thereafter continued to administer the Government, and ruled the people justly. He exercised authority over his cousins, who remained faithful to him. After the affair of Seyf-bin Mohammed had been settled in this manner, the following events occurred. Sultán-bin Himyer, Mohenná-bin Mohammed-bin Háfidh, and 'Alí bin Thahal were then residing at Ṣohár with Mohammed-bin Mohenná el-Hadeyfí, who wished to take them to their cousin Nebhán-bin Felláh at Maḳaníyat, in order to mediate a reconciliation between them. Makhzúm was then in the Fort of Yanḳal. They were unable to come to terms. Afterwards Sultán-bin Himyer the Nebhání and 'Alí-bin Thahal moved with their combined forces from el-Dháhireh against Bahlá, and entered the quarter of the Benú-Ṣalt of Bahlá, on the 9th of Ṣafar, 1024 A. H. [A. D. 1615]. The Amír 'Omeyr-bin Himyer, who was at Semáil, hearing of their movement, marched at once to Bahlá with a force, and after him came up Seyf-bin Mohammed, and an engagement was fought. The Nebhání army built a wall of defence all round the quarter they occupied. 'Omeyr sent to his adherents in all the villages. He was joined by the Sheykh Májid-bin Rabí'ah-bin Ahmed-bin Sulcimán el-Kundí and 'Omar-bin Suleimán el-'Afif and the Sheykh Sa'íd-bin Hamd-bin Abú-Sa'íd el-Ná'abí, with the principal inhabitants of Nezwá and Manh. Sultán-bin Himyer and his force remained for a long time so closely besieged, that not a man could come out, nor could any one enter to them. At length, Sultán offered to evacuate the place, if suffered to pass in safety, and the Amír consenting, they were allowed to march off to el-Dháhireh with their arms and effects.

Sultán-bin Himyer, Ḳahlán-bin Himyer, 'Alí-bin Thahal, and Muhenná-bin Mohammed-bin Háfidh continued to reside at Maḳaníyat until Nebhán dismissed them from dread of their ejecting him from the place. They then proceeded to Ṣohár, and dwelt there for a year with the Hadeyfí Mohammed-bin Muhenná. But God knows!

Sultán-bin Himyer next suggested to Mohammed-bin Muhenná that they should make an attack on the district of 'Omeyr-bin Himyer about el-Síb of the Báṭineh. 'Omeyr was away, and there were present in his districts Sinán-bin Sultán, the Amír 'Alí-bin Himyer and Sa'íd-bin Himyer. Mohammed-bin Muhenná and Sultán-bin Himyer mounted with their followers and set out from Ṣohár, and the news of this was carried to Sinán and 'Alí and Sa'íd. In as short a time as would serve a man to put off his shoes, or wash his feet, the hostile forces met and swords were bared on land and sea, on plain and hill, and a terrible battle was fought, in which

'Alí-bin Himyer was slain. The contest then terminated, and Mohammed-bin Muhenná returned to Şohár.

When the Amír 'Omeyr-bin Himyer, who was at Bahlá, heard what had befallen his brothers and his cousin, he solemnly vowed not to turn back from Şohár until he had reaped the enemies with the sword, burnt them with fire, and scattered them in all directions. He commenced collecting forces by land and by sea, and there assembled round him a force of whom God alone could tell the number. He then proceeded to Maskat, to obtain re-inforcements by sea. He sent also to the Malik of Hormúz for assistance, and he sent him a number of ships laden with stores and men and munitions of war. A ship also had arrived on the coast from India, carrying a large number of troops and some munitions of war,⁸ and had been driven back by the wind to Maskat. The Amír 'Omeyr-bin Himyer took it, and proceeded with the Christians and others who had joined him from Maskat, and halted for seven nights at Báţineh el-Síb. Mohammed-bin Jafír, hearing of this, marched with his tribe to the aid of Mohammed-bin Muhenná, and entered Şohár, to the joy of the latter, who gave him admission to the Fort and encouraged his men. A collision took place between Mohammed-bin Jafír's men and a party in one of the bastions of the Fort, and they fought for an hour. Mohammed-bin Jafír and his people then quitted Şohár.

When the Amír 'Omeyr heard of this occurrence, he moved his forces on Şohár by land and sea, and entered that town on the 19th of Rabí' ul-A'khir, A. H. 1025. [A. D. 1616.]

A battle which ensued between the rival forces, lasted from morning to night, but without decisive result. A day or two later, the Christians disembarked from the ships with their implements of war. In advancing they pushed before them gabions of cotton, to shelter them from the musketry fire. They also employed cannon, which moved by land on wooden carriages, and were fitted with wooden screens. On one side of the Fort, Mohammed-bin Muhenná had a tower in which were a large number of soldiers. The besiegers dragged their cotton screens to a position opposite this tower, and battered it with cannon until a breach was effected, when the garrison evacuated it and the Christians entered. When Mohammed-bin Muhenná heard of this, he urged on his men, and a fight took place by night at the tower, in which 'Alí-bin Thahal-bin Mohammed-bin Háfidh and Mohammed-bin Muhenná el-Hadeyfi were killed, on the 21st of Rabí' ul-A'khir, A. H. 1025. [A. D. 1616.]

After this event, Sultán-bin Himyer-bin Mohammed-bin Háfidh el-Nebhání with his brother Kahlán-bin Himyer and his cousin Muhenná-bin Mohammed-bin Háfidh and their forces occupied the fort.

As soon as the Amír 'Omeyr became aware of the death of the chief of

the enemy's army, he led his men to battle. The encounter took place in the quarter of el-Nakhl, 'Omeyr and his followers issuing without opposition from the vicinity of the chief mosque. In the contest Sultán-bin Himyer was killed, and the enemy's forces were routed and dispersed; some were slain, some burnt, some captured, some wounded, and the rest fled they knew not whither. In this manner the whole population of the place was disposed of, and the town itself was completely burnt. The Christians remained in occupation of the Fort of Şohár, and the Amír 'Omeyr returned to Semáíl intoxicated with joy.

At this period, Makhzúm-bin Felláh was in possession of the fort of Yankal. He seized two of them (?), and ordered one of his slaves to execute one of these two. The slave bared his sword to strike, on which the prisoner prayed him to protect him. He did not heed him and struck one blow. A second time he cried in vain for mercy, and when he was about to strike a third blow, the man appealed for protection to God. Makhzúm, on this, rushed on him to gag his mouth, at the same instant the slave's sword descending struck the hand of Makhzúm, who died from the effects of the wound in seven days. As for the prisoner, the slave dragged him away thinking him dead, but he was found by one of the towns-people who succoured him, and he recovered of his wounds and lived for some time after that. This happened three months after the capture of Şohár.

When Nebhán heard of his brother's death, he rode from Maḡaníyát to Yankal, and placing there a Wazír returned to the former place. Since he had left Bahlá for el-Dháhireh, a period of thirty months had elapsed. After that Nebhán-bin Felláh went a second time to Yankal, leaving some of his men in the fort of Maḡaníyát. But the people of the latter place were weary of his tyranny and oppression, and planned to expel him from the place. So they sent an emissary to the Amír 'Omeyr-bin Himyer and to Seyf-bin Mohammed, asking their aid. Both of them marched with their followers to Maḡaníyát, and entered the fort without opposition or bloodshed. After remaining there some days, they rode with a portion of their forces to Yankal. When Nebhán-bin Felláh became aware of this, he feared for his safety, and mounting on horseback fled with only four attendants and without baggage to the town of his maternal uncles of the el-Riyáyeseh. This was twelve days before the end of Şafar, 1026 A. H. [A. D. 1617.]

The Amír 'Omeyr and Seyf-bin Mohammed remained for some time at Yankal. The Amír then made over the lands to the rightful possessors to freely enjoy the produce thereof, and returned to Maḡaníyát. He enquired of the inhabitants what Nebhán was in the habit of taking from them. They told him that he took one half the produce of the date trees and one quarter of the yield of the sown ground. The Amír 'Omeyr reduced

the impost to one-tenth of the yield of the crops. The property of the Sultán was assigned to whomsoever should be in charge of the fort. After placing 'Omar-bin Mohammed-bin Abú-Sa'id in command of the fort, the Amír and Seyf-bin Mohammed returned to Bahlá.

Meanwhile Nebhán-bin Felláh, having procured a force from his uncles of the Ál-Reís, returned to el-Dháhireh and entered Fidá. There he remained for some days, when an inhabitant of Yanqal, who was one of his well-wishers, came to him and offered to procure him admission to the town and support against the garrison, and to open the fort to him. So he went and re-entered Yanqal with his followers in the middle of Rabí' ul-Akhir, A. H. 1026 [A. D. 1617.] He occupied all the commanding positions of the place except the fort itself, which was held by some of the Benú-'Alí tribe. Nebhán proceeded to besiege these, and some fighting took place. One of the besieged went forth from the Fort, and proceeded to ask assistance of the Amírs who dwelt in el-Shemál, Kaṭan-bin Kaṭan and Náṣir-bin Náṣir. They with their followers proceeded to Yanqal, and attacked and dispersed the forces of Nebhán-bin Felláh.

On hearing of the entry of Yanqal by Nebhán-bin Felláh, the Sheykh Seyf-bin Mohammed el-Hináí had marched with his troops to oppose him. When he had traversed a portion of the way, he heard what had happened to Nebhán at the hands of the Amírs, and thereupon returned to Bahlá with his army.

The Amír 'Omeyr-bin Himyer at that time collected men to aid the Sultán Málik-bin Abul-'Arab el-Ya'rabí against the Benú-Lamak, and having lent the aid of all his forces, the result was disastrous to the Benú-Lamak.

Seyf-bin Mohammed el-Hináí remained in Bahlá, and the Ál-'Omeyr in Semáil, and Málik-bin Abul-'Arab in Rostáḵ and the el-Jibúr in el-Dháhireh until the appearance of the wise Imám of the Musalmáns, Náṣir-bin Murshid, who subdued all 'Omán and reduced to obedience all its districts, purging the land of tyranny and oppression, of infidelity and rebellion, and restoring to it justice and security, and governing the people with equity and kindness until God took him to Paradise.

I shall, please God, relate his advent in the following book.

Book VI.

Appearance of the Imám Náṣir-bin Murshid and an Account of the Imáms who succeeded him up to the occurrence of dissensions amongst the el-Ya'á-rabeh. A. D. 1624 to 1718.

When it was the will of God to be gracious to the people of 'Omán, and to save them from further violence and oppression, after the sufferings

they had experienced from civil wars, it came to pass that an uneventful period ensued in their annals, during which the fierce passions and animosities which had animated them were obliterated from their minds. Generation succeeded generation, but the country long continued impoverished after those truculent chiefs and contending factions had disappeared from the scene. There remained only the record of the virtuous amongst them and what they commemorated in their books and traditions. Learning declined and the learned were few. Friendly intercourse was resumed and the fire of hatred died out of their hearts; the flames of war were extinguished, and party differences were reconciled. A time came when learning had so declined and its possessors were so scarce, that it was said that one of the Princes of the Ya'árabeh of Wabl of el-Rosták wanted a Kádhí and was unable to find one amongst the followers of the true sect,¹ and therefore selected a Kádhí from the heretics; of what sect I know not. This person endeavoured to overturn our sect and establish his own instead. The people of 'Omán, on hearing of this, sent to that Prince, who thereupon dismissed the Kádhí and appointed for them one of their own persuasion. From him the people of el-Rosták received instruction and became steadfast in the faith.

The majority of the Meliks of 'Omán were wicked and turbulent oppressors, and they were abetted in their tyranny by the chiefs of the tribes. Throughout the land, whether in desert or valley, everywhere oppression was rampant. The people of 'Omán suffered from those evil doers the severest misery, from which neither the young nor the aged escaped. All alike were subject to be plundered, or seized and imprisoned, to be scourged or even slaughtered. And God caused animosity and hatred to grow in their hearts.

Now the people of 'Omán are endowed with certain qualities, which it is my hope they may never lose. They are a people of soaring ambition, and of haughty spirit; they brook not the control of any Sultán, and are quick to resent affront; they yield only to irresistible force, and without ever abandoning their purpose. A man of comparatively poor spirit, judged by their standard, is on a par as regards magnanimity with an Amír of any other people. Each individual aims at having the power in his own hands or in the hands of those he loves. He desires every one to be submissive to him, and his neighbour has the same ambition.² Unfortunately none are worthy of such things, but those whom God elects, pious, chaste, and blessed persons, who are not swayed by their desires, nor prone to be led away by blind passions. So it came to pass that fierce animosities broke out amongst them, and they fought amongst themselves, plundering, and carrying off captives. In short, each party neglected no means of injuring their opponents. There were none to be found, whether dwellers in houses or dwellers in tents, whether

“Bedú” or “Hadhí”³, whether on the mountain heights or in the sandy levels, but had quaffed the draught of terror, and suffered from the general destruction which encompassed religion, property, and life, except those for whom God tempered their troubles and whom He saved from the strife by His bounteous protection. In this manner, they ceased not to struggle in the abysses of desolation, walking in evil ways, until God vouchsafed unto them the appearance of his wise servant, the Imám of the Musalmáns, Náşir-bin Murshid-bin Málik⁴, which occurred as follows.

It happened that when Málik-bin Abul-‘Arab, who has been mentioned in the previous book, was their Sultán, dissensions occurred amongst the people of el-Rosták. Those of the Musalmáns who were steadfast in the faith, consulted with the learned regarding the election of an Imám, to govern them in accordance with right and justice, and they deliberated as to who was worthy of their choice. At that period, the most respected person amongst them was Khamís-bin Sa‘íd el-Shakaşí. Their unanimous decision was to elect the illustrious Seyyid [Náşir]. So they went to him and asked this of him, exhorting him to rule uprightly.

THE IMA‘M NA‘ŞIR-BIN MURSHID. He consented, and was elected Imám in the year 1034 A. H. [A. D. 1625], and fixed his residence at Kaşrá, in the district of el-Rosták, and acted justly, and exerted himself to uproot ignorance. The tribe el-Yahmad actively supported him, and agreed to seize by night the fort in which his cousins had resided since the death of his grandfather Málik. After gaining possession of the fort, the Imám proceeded to the town of el-Nakhl, in which his uncle Sultán-bin Abul-‘Arab was residing, and took that place after a siege of some days. A portion of the inhabitants, however, refused to acknowledge the Imám and besieged him in the fort, until he was relieved by a body of the el-Yahmad, and his enemies were dispersed, after which he returned to el-Rosták. There he received visits from Ahmed-bin Suleimán el-Rúeyhí with a party of the el-Rúáheh and envoys from Máni‘-bin Sinán el-‘Omeyrí, who abode some time with him and invited him to Semáíl and Wádí Bení-Rúáheh. To this he assented, and marched accompanied by some of the el-Yahmed until he reached Semáíl, where he left some of his men with Máni‘-bin Sinán, and proceeded on to the Wádí Bení-Rúáheh. As agreed upon with Máni‘, he went on thence to Nezwá, attended by the Kádhí Khamís-bin Sa‘íd. On reaching Izkí, many of the inhabitants gave him personal and pecuniary assistance, and he took possession of the place, and proceeded towards Nezwá, where he was welcomed by the people and entered the town in safety. He took up his residence in el-‘Akr, and continued to administer justly for some months. The Benú bú-Sa‘íd,⁵ the chief family of el-‘Akr, then formed a conspiracy in view of ejecting the Imám from the place. The execution of this plot was fixed for a Friday, when the Imám went forth to prayers, but

he received timely warning from a person, to whom he had shown kindness, of what they meditated, and when he had ascertained the truth of the intelligence, he ordered the family to be banished from the district, but forbade any one to slay or attack them. So they were forced to go forth, and dispersed throughout the districts. A party of them resorted to Máni'-bin Sinán, who had made a compact with the Imám and taken an oath to follow the truth. By receiving these persons he broke his word. Another body of them took refuge with the el-Hináí at Bahlá, and assisted that tribe in their war against the Imám, which then broke out.

The Imám ordered a new Fort to be constructed in 'Akr of Nezwá in lieu of the old one, which had been built by el-Şalt-bin Málik, and the work was completed.

The people of Manh also invited him to extend his just rule to them, and he proceeded to that town, which was opened to him, and administered the affairs with the active and substantial support of the inhabitants. So also the people of Semed el-Shán came to him. The governor [Málik] of Semed at that time was 'Alí-bin Kaţan el-Hilálí. The Imám despatched an army under the command of the learned Sheykh Mes'úd-bin Ramadhán, who took possession of the town. At the invitation of the people of Ibrá, the Málik of which was Mohammed-bin Jafír, the Imám sent a force there also, which took the place.

In this way the whole of el-Sharkíyeh submitted to the Imám, except Şúr and Keriýát, which were held by the Christians.

The Imám next assembled an army and marched against the el-Hináí of Bahlá. When he had proceeded as far as the plain of el-Markh, he discovered treason amongst certain persons of his army, and deemed it most prudent to return to Nezwá, where he commenced raising a fresh force. A large number of men being assembled, he marched with them towards el-Dháhireh, and succeeded in gaining possession of Wádí Faddá, where he ordered a Fort to be built. The inhabitants of the uplands of Dhank, whose leader was the learned Sheykh Khamís-bin Rueyshid, joined the Imám, and also the men of el-Ghíálín, and his authority was established in spite of his enemies.

After this the Imám made a tour of the districts he had conquered, until he reached Semed el-Shán, whence he returned to el-Rosták with the Benú Ríyám.⁶ There he remained until the army of Mohammed-bin Jafír advanced to the town of Nakhl, which they entered and took possession of, all but the Fort. The Imám marched against them at the head of a numerous army, and was aided by the el-Ma'áwal clan. The enemy had only occupied the town two or three nights, when they were forced to fly, and the Imám returned to el-Rosták.

Soon after, the Sheykh Khamís-bin Rueyshid came to the Imám seek-

ing his assistance against el-Dháhireh. The Imám thereupon prepared an army with which he marched to the assistance of the Sheykh, and halted at el-Sakhbarí. The people of el-Sirr and el-Dháhireh assisted the Imám with contributions of men and money. Thence he proceeded to the Fort of el-Ghabbí, in which was posted the main body of the A'l-Hilál with "Bedú" and "Hadhr." Here there was a severe engagement, in the course of which the Imám's brother Je'ad-bin Murshid was killed. The Imám then marched to 'Ibrí⁸, which he took, and remaining there two nights, he returned to el-Sakhbarí, after which he besieged the Fort of el-Ghabbí until God gave him victory over it, when he placed in it as Wálí Khamís-bin Rueyshid. In the town of Bát he placed as Wálí a person belonging to el-Rosták, associating with him Muhammed-bin Seyf el-Howkání. These two the Imám ordered to reduce the remaining towns of el-Dháhireh, and himself returned to Nezwá.

The A'l-Hilál, who occupied a position by the water courses near Dhank, made war on the Wálís. The latter encountered them at el-Deir, routed them, and captured the camels of Ḳaṭan-bin Ḳaṭan, to make use of them in overcoming the others. They also laid siege to Ḳaṭan-bin Ḳaṭan's Fort. Ḳaṭan-bin Ḳaṭan then went to the Imám, and offered to surrender his Fort, if his camels were restored to him. These terms were accepted, and the Imám ordered the camels to be given back to Ḳaṭan, who surrendered his Fort and was confirmed as Wálí of it by the Imám.

The two Wálís then proceeded to Maḳaníyát, which was held by a Wazír of the el-Jibúr. The latter tribe raised the whole of the Benú-Hilál, "Bedú" and "Hadhr," and the Owwad el-Reís, and marched towards Maḳaníyát; but, considering themselves unequal to the relief of that place, they advanced on Bát. The Wálís feared for the safety of that town on account of the scanty supply of water on which the Governor relied, so the Musalmáns marched from before Maḳaníyát, and surprised the el-Jibúr at Bát. After an encounter, the el-Jibúr retreated towards Maḳaníyát; but the Musalmáns overtook them, and a battle was fought which lasted from morning prayer till noon. The Musalmáns had to exert themselves to the utmost, and the slaughter of the rebels was so great, that it is said they were unable to bury the slain separately, and were obliged to put seven and eight corpses in one pit. So God upheld the Musalmáns.

When intelligence of this affair reached the Imám, he assembled an army and marched with it against the el-Hináí of Bahlá, at which place he arrived on the night of the festival of the Hijj. He besieged the place for two months, all but three days, when the el-Jibúr came to the relief of the el-Hináí. They were encountered by the Imám's troops, and a severe engagement took place, in which Ḳásim-bin Mathkúr el-Dahmashí and a great number of the army of the el-Jibúr were slain. The latter then

retreated, leaving the Hinái chief and his followers besieged in the Fort. He was at length forced to surrender, and evacuated the place with all his men, arms, and property, leaving the Fort empty. The Imám after placing a Wáli there returned to Nezwá. The Imám next marched to Semáíl against Máni'-bin Sinán el-'Omeyrí. The latter, as soon as he heard of the Imám's approach, made his submission, and advised the Imám to suffer him to remain in the Fort, promising to be faithful for the future. This the Imám consented to, and, after completing his design of rebuilding the old Fort of Semáíl, returned to Nezwá.

After that, the Imám proceeded with a force to Maḡaníyát, where he attacked and defeated the enemy. The garrison, however, held out for nearly three months in the Fort, after which time the Imám captured it, and placed Mohammed-bin 'Alí there as Wáli.

Sa'id el-Khiyálí and his clan ceased not to persevere in their enmity towards the Imám, and to correspond with the el-Jibúr, until the latter admitted them to the town of el-Sakhbarí, where they slew a man of the el-Dhaháhakeh and many of the Imám's soldiers and others, the number of whom God alone knows. The Imám's army was completely shut up, and several engagements were fought; one a very severe one at el-'Ajeyfiyeh, another at el-Ghábeh, another at el-Maḡhareh, another at el-Zíyádeh, and many more hard fights, so that the pillars of el-Islám were well nigh crumbled to ruins. The Wáli was deserted by many of the people, and left with only a small number, beset by the enemy banded to oppose him, so that his resolution was almost overcome by his terror. He remained besieged in the fort of el-Ghabbí, the governor of which was Mohammed-bin Seyf. When Mohammed-bin 'Alí, Wáli of Maḡaníyát, became aware of the state of affairs, he assembled a force to relieve Mohammed-bin Seyf at el-Ghabbí, and, coming on the enemy unawares, he entered the place, and defeated and scattered them in all directions. Some gained el-Sakhbarí, some fled to the desert, and the rest set out for Yanḡal, which place was held by Náṣir-bin Ḳaṡan. So God gave the victory to the Musalmáns.

After these occurrences, Máni'-bin Sinán secretly entered into correspondence with Seyf-bin Mohammed el-Hináí, and played the traitor by violating the compact he had entered into with the Imám. Having collected a force, the two entered Nezwá, the inhabitants of which place were not guiltless of treachery and disaffection, as this was effected with their secret connivance, and with the aid of some of the tribes. On entering Nezwá, they possessed themselves of el-'Akr.

The Imám retained only the fort, which they rigorously beset, but just as they were on the point of breaching the wall, succours arrived from Izkí and Bahlá, including the Benú-Ríyám. These having entered the place to the relief of the Imám, who was overjoyed at their arrival, the enemy's forces

dispersed and many of them were slain. This circumstance served to fortify the Imám's resolution and strengthen his power. He was then advised to destroy the fort of Máni'-bin Sinán, who hearing of the preparation of an army for service against him fled to Fanjá. The Imám's troops proceeded to raze the fort, on which Máni'-bin Sinán proceeded to Maskat, and thence to Lawá, where he joined Mohammed-bin Jafír. The Imám then ordered his army to Bilád-Seyt, at which place Seyf the Hinái had built a fort, after he went forth from Bahlá. The leader of this army was the Sheykh 'Abdullah-bin Mohammed-bin Ghassán, the author of the work entitled the "Khazánat ul-Akhyár fí bei' il-Kheiyár."

When the army arrived at Bilád-Seyt, the Hinái fled from the place, and, by order of the commander, the fort was razed to the ground. The Hinái then repaired to the Imám and sought his forgiveness, and all the tribes of 'Omán made their submission.

The Imám soon after assembled a large force with which he proceeded in person, accompanied by the Sheykh Khamís-bin Sa'íd of el-Rosták, against Náşir-bin Kaţan of Yançal. After a siege of some days, the place surrendered, and the Imám after placing a Wálí there returned to el-Rosták.

The Imám raised another strong force, in command of which he placed the Sheykh 'Abdullah-bin Mohammed-bin Ghassán of Nezwá, whom he instructed to march to el-Jow. With him he sent also the Sheykh Khamís-bin Rueyshid of Dhank and Háfidh-bin Jum'ah el-Hináí with Mohammed-bin 'Alí of el-Rosták and Mohammed-bin Seyf el-Howkání. On arrival, they gained possession of the place, and leaving Mohammed-bin Seyf as Wálí, the commander proceeded with his forces in the direction of the town of Lawá. For dissensions had broken out amongst the el-Jibúr and, in the strife, Mohammed-bin Jafír had been killed. 'Abdullah took up his quarters at the principal mosque, and his army surrounded the fort, which was held by Seyf, the son of the deceased Mohammed-bin Jafír el-Hiláli. Seyf's brothers and Wazirs, however, had recourse to the Christians⁹ at Şohár, where Máni'-bin Sinán el-'Omeyrí, also, was then residing. Thence they harassed the Imám's army before Lawá by making night attacks, and they also aided the garrison with provisions and munitions of war. The sons of Mohammed-bin Jafír next wrote to the Wálí proposing terms of peace, but he, aware this was merely a ruse, sent a detachment against them under Mohammed-bin 'Alí, who fell on the enemy before day-break at a place called Mançal, where the southern part of the Fort abuts on the seashore. The millstones of war revolved amongst them, and after a severe engagement Mohammed retired with his forces to the fort of Lawá. They continued to besiege the Fort until Seyf-bin Mohammed sent to them, begging to be allowed safe egress from the place. The Wálí gave him the required guarantee, and he evacuated the fort with his followers, on which

the Wálí entered it. During the siege, the Wálí had received assistanee from Náşir-bin Kaţan and the men of the el-'Umúr. 'Abdullah having plaeced a governor there returned himself to the Imám.

The Imám afterwards raised another army, in command of which he plaeced Mes'úd-bin Ramadhán and ordered him to lead them to Maskat. He marched until he arrived at the well ealled el-Rúleh¹⁰ at el-Maţreh. There the millstones of death revolved between the Musalmáns and the unbelievers, and God granted vietory to the former, who demolished the high towers of Maskat. Many of the unbelievers were slain, after which they sued for peace, which was granted to them by the Wálí, on eondition of their restoring all the property of the el-'Umúr, which was in their possession, and also that of the Shi'ahs¹¹ of Şohár. On their submitting to these terms, the Wálí assured them of safety, and after obtaining from them pledges of good faith, returned to the Imám.

Máni'-bin Sinán meanwhile ceased not to eherish secret enmity against the Imám and to preach rebellion against his Government. So Maddád-bin Holwán asked permission of the Imám to eompass Máni's death by stratagem. The Imám having consented, Maddád wrote to Máni', inviting him to eome to the fort of Lawá and expressing himself in such kind language that it disposed the other to aecede. Now the Wálí of Lawá at that time was Háfidh-bin Seyf. El-Maddád ceased not to ply the 'Omeyrí with letters couched in terms of friendly adviee, and to adjure him on the true faith not to allow suspicions of evil to enter his heart. Máni' rejoiced at this and placed eonfidence in Maddád's eounsels. He was then residing at the town of Dibbá, from which place he rode into Şohár, where he halted some days awaiting further advices from Maddád. The latter renewed the promises he had made, and fixed a certain night on which he engaged he should have admission to the Fort, on which Máni' rode to Lawá and alighted in the town.

On the appointed night, the Wálí dispersed his forces and caused them to wander about the streets, as if about to depart; it being however, arranged amongst them that they should eoneentrate on Mani' from the right and left. Before Máni' was aware of their intentions, the troops had surrounded him from both sides, and he was seized and slain on the spot, and his followers dispersed, those who remained by him being slain.

The Imám next prepared a foree, the eommand of which he gave to 'Alí-bin Ahmed, assisted by his eousins of the Ál-Ya'rub, and ordered him to proceed to the town of Julfár, which is el-Şir.¹² In those days, that plaee was held by the Persian Náşiruddín with a force of Persians. Ahmed-bin 'Alí proceeded to besiege them in the fort of el-Şir, the Persians actively defending themselves, and some hard fighting oceurred. Some of the people of el-Şir sided with the Persians against the Imám's forees. There was

a flanking tower connected by a wall with the fort, and in this tower were stationed a body of the garrison who kept up a fire by night and day. On the sea side there were also two ships of the Christians, which by the fire of their guns protected the fort from assault by the Musalmáns. The latter determined to attack the tower, which they seized by a night assault, and from thence they gained possession of the fort, one of the leaders of the army was placed there as Wálí. More troops came up afterwards, amongst them a body of the el-Dahámish and Khamís-bin Mahzam. There was also another Fort situated on the seashore held by the el-Efrenj.¹³ The Imám's army entered this place by day and took possession of it, and besieged those who were in the fort, which they occupied themselves. The power of the unbelievers was humbled, and they sued for peace, which was granted them, and they evacuated the fort, in which the Wálí placed a garrison. Leaving with the latter a portion of his army 'Alí-bin Ahmed, they returned with the remainder to Nezwá. The Imám was rejoiced at his arrival and at the news of the capture of el-Şir.

The Imám next ordered Háfidh-bin Seyf, the Wálí of Lawá, who had a body of el-'Amúr with him, to proceed and build a fort against Şohár, some of the inhabitants of which town had been inviting him to take the place. The Wálí accordingly summoned all in the neighbourhood from the towns of the Benú-Khálid, Benú-Lám, and the el-'Amúr, and a numerous force assembled. The Wálí then marched on Şohár and passed the night in the village of 'Amak. Next day, in the forenoon, he reached Şohár district without being discovered by any of his enemies. This was on the last day of el-Moharram, A. H. 1043 [A. D. 1633]. He encamped in a quarter of Şohár, called el-Bid'ah, and the Musalmáns commenced an attack on the unbelievers. The combat raged fiercely for a time, the Christians keeping up a fire of cannon from the fort. The Wálí then changed his position, the fighting and cannonading continuing. A cannon shot pierced through the ranks of the besiegers until it reached the "Mejlis" of the Wálí and struck Ráshid-bin 'Abbád, who thus suffered the death of a martyr. A fort was then erected by the Wálí's orders, and he took up his position in it. There ceased not to be warfare between them night and day.¹⁴

After this the Kádhí Khamís-bin Sa'íd of el-Rosták proceeded with his followers to the village of Búsher,¹⁵ where he received a message from the Christians asking for peace, which request he granted.

Afterwards he sent on his messengers to Maskat and, having mounted himself, rode to el-Maṭreh, where he was met by the leaders of the Christians, and terms of peace were agreed upon. Khamís thereupon ordered the abandonment of the strong positions he had occupied against them, and allowed free communication to be re-established with the town. In this manner hostilities were avoided.

The Imám next despatched a force against Şúr, which besieged and took that place. A portion of the force went to Keriýát, where the Christians possessed a Fort. The Musalmáns erected a fort there and took that of the Christians. Thus the Imám acquired possession of the whole kingdom of 'Omán excepting Şohár and Maskat.

Meanwhile Náşir-bin Kaţan continued to make raids into 'Omán every year from el-Ahsá,¹⁶ carrying off cattle and pillaging the country and returning to el-Ahsá. The Imám therefore wrote to his Wálí, Mohammed-bin Seyf el-Howkání, directing him to obtain information of Náşir's movements, and as soon as he heard of his approach, to intercept him with an army beyond the frontier of 'Omán. The Wálí accordingly collected a force of "Bedú" and "Hadhri," and when he heard of Náşir's approach advanced to meet him. Náşir hearing of the Imám's army made for el-Dhafreh and entered its fort, the Benú-Yás assisting him. Thence he sent messengers to the Wálí to sue for peace. The Wálí being in straits for provisions, and distant from his supplies, agreed to make peace on condition of Náşir restoring all plundered property in his possession and paying compensation for what had been continued, after which the Wálí retired with his followers. Náşir, however, collected the Bedouins of el-Dhafreh and proceeded to attack the fort of el-Jow, of which Ahmed-bin Khalf was Wálí. Náşir being joined by all the inhabitants, who aided him against the Wálí, laid siege to the fort; but the Wálís of el-Báţineh and el-Dháhireh, hearing of this, sent succours to Ahmed-bin Khalf, and the enemy's forces retired from the district. The chief Wálí then came with an army from Nezwá, and ordered the demolition of all the Forts of el-Jow, except that of the Imám, and the enemies were dispersed. 'Omeyr-bin Mohammed fled to the Christians at Şohár, and others made for the hill pass of Júlfár, where they took to highway robbery and pillaging the districts. The Wálís proceeded against them, and some were killed and others fled. The Wálí having seized their camels returned to 'Omán. Náşir-bin Kaţan then led his followers to el-Báţineh, and made raids on the camels of the Benú-Khálid and Benú-Lám.¹⁷ They also plundered the women of their ornaments and clothes, after which they retired to el-Ahsá. Soon after, he again invaded 'Omán, and advanced towards el-Báţineh, in order to pillage that district. The Imám, however, assembled an army to repel him, and placed in command 'Alí-bin Ahmed, supported by Mohammed-bin Şalt el-Riyámí, 'Alí-bin Mohammed-el-'Ibrí, and Ahmed-bin Belhasan el-Búsherí. They proceeded to the town of Lawá, where they encountered Náşir-bin Kaţan and his force. An engagement occurred, in which Náşir was worsted, and fled to Majís, pursued by the Wálí and his followers. Náşir then made for el-Shemál, and the Wálí rode in pursuit. The first to come up with Náşir were Ahmed-bin Belhasan, and Murád and Ráshid-bin Hisám, and a few of the

faithful,¹⁸ who overtook him at a place called el-Kharús. This advanced party of the Musalmáns having been assailed by Náşir's force before the main body of the Imám's army came up, they were slain to a man. God alone is Immortal! When the army arrived at the spot, they saw their comrades lying dead, and not a man of Náşir's force was in sight.

About this time Hamíd, *alias* Mohammed-bin 'Othmán, attacked the district of el-Sirr, where Mohammed-bin Seyf el-Howkání was Wálí. Sa'íd-bin Khalfán, who happened to be in el-Sirr at the time, demanded an interview with Ibn-Hamíd, and they met at el-Ghabbí, in the mosque of el-Sharí'ah, when Sa'íd demanded restitution of the property they had plundered; but the other refused and became still more insolent and audacious, so that Sa'íd was obliged to have him imprisoned in irons in the fort of el-Ghabbí. Sa'íd then proceeded to el-Rosták and informed the Imám of the seizure of Mohammed-bin 'Othmán at el-Ghabbí. The Imám ordered him to be brought to el-Rosták, and he was accordingly conveyed there in fetters, and remained in confinement for seven months when he died.

The Imám soon after raised another army under command of Sa'íd-bin Khalfán, supported by 'Omeyr-bin Mohammed-bin Jafír. This force proceeded with the design of seizing the camel herds of Náşir-bin Kāţan el-Hilálí. Before they reached the spot where the camels were, they were encountered, at a place named el-Sha'íb near el-Dhafrah, by the Benú-Yás, and a battle ensued, in which the leader of the Benú-Yás, Saķeyr-bin 'Ísá, and his brother Mohammed with a number of the tribe were slain. On this they sued for peace, which the Wálí granted, and the army returned. The Imám then directed them to proceed to a place called Dagħfis, where Náşir-bin Kāţan had herds of camels. They succeeded in capturing these camels, which were made over to the charge of 'Omeyr-bin Mohammed-bin Jafír, but the latter's brother, at the instigation of others, restored the camels to Náşir-bin Kāţan. The latter and his followers ceased not to pillage 'Omán until he became the dread of "Bedú" and "Hadh'r," and the people of the desert sought refuge in the villages. On the occasion of one of his raiding expeditions, Náşir halted with his army in the south, and sent a body of his people to close the passes. The Imám sent an army against him under Seyf-bin Málik and Seyf-bin Abul-'Arab. The advanced guard of the Imám's force came suddenly on Náşir's force and, being few in comparison with the latter, they were all slain. Náşir then withdrew to el-Ahsá, and the Imám's army returned.

After this God aided the Imám of the Musalmáns against all wrongdoers, whom he ejected from their habitations and removed with the strong arm. He took pledges from the disaffected and humbled their leaders, crushed the tyrannical, and checked all oppressors. God was on his side and bestowed His grace on him, so that el-Islám was exalted and shone forth,

whilst evil and wrong-doing hid their heads. Justice was extended to all the people of 'Omán, whether "Bedú" or "Hadr." There remained only the party of Christians, who held out within the walls of Maskat, and these had suffered from war to such an extent that they had become weak, and their power was falling to decay. Their allies were dispersed, and death and slaughter had well nigh done their work on the majority of them.

Then God decreed that the Imám should die, and this event occurred on Friday ten days before the end of Rabí' ul-Akhir, A. H. 1050 [A. D. 1640],¹⁹ his reign having lasted twenty-six years. All the just were content with, nay devoted to him. He was buried at Nezwá, where his tomb is well known.

THE IMA'M SULṬĀ'N-BIN SEYF. On the same day on which the Imám Náṣir-bin Murshid-bin Málik expired, the Musalmáns elected his cousin the Imám Sulṭán-bin Seyf-bin Málik. This Prince ruled justly, and was active and diligent in the service of God, failing in no respect. He waged war on the Christians, who still remained in Maskat, and personally conducted the operations against them until God gave him the victory over them and he took the place.²⁰ He continued afterwards to carry on war against them by land and sea wherever he found them, and succeeded in taking many of their towns and ships, and enriched himself with much booty taken from them. It is said that he built the fort which is at Nezwá entirely from the spoil of Şirr, and it took him twelve years to complete the work. He also constructed the aqueduct of el-Birkeh, which is between Izkí and Nezwá, but nearer to the former place. It is probable that strictures were passed on him as regards his Imámship on account of his engaging in commerce, as he had agents who were known to trade on his account. In his time there were many learned men in 'Omán. Wealth also increased, and the country was prosperous and brilliant, the people gratefully enjoying tranquillity. The harvests were abundant and prices low. He was affable to his subjects and liked by all. He used to walk out without a guard and sit and converse with the people. He would salute all, great or little, slave or free. Thus he continued assiduously to administer the Government until his death, which occurred on Friday morning, the 16th of Thul-Ḳa'deh, A. H. 1090 [4th October, 1680.] His body was interred where the Imám Náṣir-bin Murshid had been buried.

THE IMA'M BEL'ARAB-BIN SULṬĀ'N. They then elected his son Bel'arab-bin Sulṭán-bin Seyf-bin Málik. This prince was generous and beneficent, and the people ceased not to be grateful to him and to extol his virtue. He removed from Nezwá to Yabrín, which he made a flourishing place and where he built a fort. But strife broke out between the Imám and his brother Seyf, and in the course of their contention many of the people of 'Omán, learned men, elders, and pious persons, suffered great troubles. Many

souls went to perdition from following the opinions and advice of the foolish.

The Imám, having gone on an expedition to el-Shemál, on his return was forbidden entry to Nezwá by the inhabitants, on which he went to Yabrín.

THE IMA'M SEYF-BIN SULṬA'N. The majority of the people of 'Omán then assembled, and conferred the Imámate on his brother Seyf-bin Sulṭán; but I conceive that most of them entered into the matter from fear of consequences, and that some suffered for refusing to join in the plot.

Seyf then went against his brother, and took all the forts of 'Omán, except Yabrín which he besieged, and fighting continued until Bel'arab died in the castle. His adherents begged to be allowed to quit the place unmolested, and Seyf consented. I imagine that some of the learned continued to regard Bel'arab as Imám up to the time of his death, looking on Seyf as a rebel against his brother.

After that, Seyf subdued all 'Omán and ruled justly, protecting the weak from the strong, and inspiring the tribes of 'Omán and other countries with fear. He made war on the Christians in every country, drove them from their abodes and uprooted them from places where they had established themselves. He wrested from them Bender-Mombásah, Jezíret el-Khadhrá,²¹ Kilwah, Battah, and other places belonging to them.

'Omán became very prosperous, and the Imám constructed many aqueducts, and planted date trees and other descriptions of trees. The Imám amassed much wealth, and possessed many male and female slaves, for he was very greedy of wealth. 'Omán was strong and prosperous under his sway, and he went on in this manner until he died at el-Rostáḵ and was buried there. His death occurred on Friday night, three days before the end of Ramadhán, A. H. 1120 [A. D. 1708.]

THE IMA'M SULṬA'N-BIN SEYF-BIN MA'LIK was then elected Imám and governed firmly and diligently, warring against the foes by land and by sea. He attacked the Persians in several places, and drove them from their possessions. He also built the fort of el-Hazam, and removed from el-Rostáḵ to that place. He expended all the wealth he had inherited from his father, and moreover borrowed lacs from the property of the mosques and religious endowments. He attacked and took el-Bahrein; and neither the people of 'Omán, nor of any other country, ventured to stir against him. At length, he died in the fort of el-Hazam, on Wednesday five days before the end of Jumádí el-Ákhir, A. H. 1131 [A. D. 1718], and was buried there.

Thereupon there occurred a difference between the el-Ya'árabeh and the heads of the tribes, who were clannish and touchy. They wished to elect in the Imám's place his son Seyf, who was still of unripe years.

But the men of learning, as well as the daughter of the Imám Seyf,

desired that the Imámate should be conferred on Mohenná-bin Sultán, considering him worthy of the position and powerful enough to maintain it. They were moreover not aware of anything in his character or conduct which should exclude him from reigning. They argued also that the Imámate of a boy was not allowable in any circumstances. It would not be lawful for him to lead the prayers; how then could he be Imám of the country, to govern it, and have power over the property, lives, and honor of the people? When it was not lawful for him to take possession of his own property, how could it be right that he should have charge of the property of God, or of orphans, or of absentees, and others incapacitated for the administration of their affairs?

The Sheykh 'Adí-bin Suleimán el-Thahalí perceived that the people favoured the claims of the Imám's son, and though he did not consider himself justified in assisting them in that course, he feared that, as the assembled people were armed, opposition might induce them to use their weapons and lead to bloodshed. Accordingly he wished to silence them and break up the assembly. So he said to them 'Seyf is "Amám" or "before you."' On this, they proclaimed him Imám, and fired the guns to announce the event. The news spread throughout 'Omán that Seyf-bin Sultán was Imám. When, however, the commotion had subsided, and people had quieted down, they brought the Sheykh Muhenná secretly into the fort and elected him Imám. This was in the same month and year in which Sultán-bin Seyf died.

THE IM'AM MUHENNA-BIN SULTÁN. The new Imám applied himself to the Government, and the people enjoyed tranquillity during his time. He abolished the custom duties at Maskat, and appointed no agent to reside there, so that the inhabitants made profit by the trade of the place. Prices fell and the harvests were rich. None of the learned refused allegiance to Muhenná. He continued to reign for one year when he was slain. I shall, if it be the will of God, narrate the circumstances attending his slaughter, and the causes of the disturbances which took place in 'Omán and of the condition to which the affairs of its people tended, in a separate book.

Book VII.

Account of the Civil Wars in 'Omán and of the state to which the country was reduced. A. D. 1718 to A. D. 1728.

After the election of Muhenná-bin Sultán, the el-Ya'arabeh and people of el-Rosták ceased not to cherish enmity against him and the Kádhi 'Adí-bin Suleimán el-Thahalí and to urge Ya'rab-bin Bel'arab to rise against the Imám; which he at length did, and took possession of Maskat, the Wálí of which was at that time Mes'úd-bin Mohammed-bin Mes'úd el-Şárimí el-Riyámí. As Ya'rab did not enter Maskat with a force, it is probable the

inhabitants were not guiltless of treason towards the Imám Muhenná. The latter had gone to Felej el-Bazíl in the districts of el-Jow, but as soon as he heard this intelligence, he returned to el-Rosták and spared no effort to meet the emergency. He called on the people of 'Omán to aid him against the enemy, but they did not respond to his call and abandoned him to his fate. The people of el-Rosták had besieged him in the Fort. Ya'rab, hearing this, came from Maskat to el-Rosták, and summoned Muhenná to come forth from the Fort, offering him safe-conduct for himself and followers and property. Muhenná reflected on his position: abandoned as he was and unaided by any of the people of 'Omán, he was evidently helpless, and accordingly accepted the proffered terms and came down from the Fort. By this act, his Imámate came to an end. Notwithstanding the promises of security, he was immediately seized, fettered, and placed in the stocks, with one of his companions. Soon after, some of his enemies' servants came, and slaughtered them both as they lay bound and helpless. Ya'rab then assumed the reins of government, but did not aspire to the Imámate, which office pertained to his cousin Seyf-bin Sulţán, contenting himself with acting as regent for the latter, who was too young to assume the Government himself. All the Forts of 'Omán surrendered to them, and all the tribes made their submission. This was in the year 1133 A. H. [A. D. 1720.]

Matters went on in this way for a year, after which the Kádhí 'Adí-bin Suleimán el-Thahalí proposed to Ya'rab that he should repent of all his misdeeds, his oppression of the Musalmáns, and his rebellion against Mohenná-bin Sulţán and seizure of the Government of the Musalmáns. In case of his doing this, Ya'rab would be absolved of the guilt of rebellion, and it would not be necessary for him to make restitution for what he had destroyed; for compensation is not incumbent on one who has repented and received absolution. Ya'rab followed these counsels, on which he was made Imám in the year 1134 A. H. [A. D. 1721.]

THE IMA'M YA'RAB-BIN BEL'ARAB. He then received charge of the Government in his own name and the various forts of 'Omán were surrendered to him. After remaining a few days at el-Rosták, he proceeded to Nezwá, which he entered on the 29th of el-Sha'bán of the same year. The people of el-Rosták were not content that Ya'rab should be Imám, and displayed a preference for the Sayyid Seyf-bin Sulţán. They constantly wrote to Bel'arab-bin Náşir, the maternal uncle of the Seyyid Seyf-bin Sulţán, who was at Nezwá with the Imám Ya'rab. They ceased not to urge Bel'arab until he left Nezwá, on the 7th of Showwál of that year, and proceeded to Bilád-Seyt, where he succeeded in binding the Benú-Hináh to support him by engaging to release them from the restrictions placed on them by the Imám Náşir-bin Murshid in the matters of building, carrying arms, &c. He also gave them rich presents. They accordingly took him to el-

Rostáq, where fighting went on, until they succeeded in ejecting the Wálí from the place. They set fire to the gate of the Fort, and the whole front of the place was burnt, and many leaders of the Benú-Hináh, as also some chiefs of the Benú-'Adí, were burnt to death. From what I have gathered, it seems one hundred and fifty lives were lost by the fire. Many books also were destroyed on this occasion, such as the "*Bayán ul-Shara'*," "*el-Muṣannif*," "*Kitáb ul-Istikámeh*," "*Mujlibát ul-Tilismát*," of about forty volumes. Many other works were burnt, which were unique in 'Omán. Through this fire a vast treasure was discovered.

When intelligence of what the people of el-Rostáq had done reached the Imám Ya'rab, he detached a body of horsemen¹ under the command of the Sheykh Šálih-bin Mohammed-bin Khalf el-Suleymí, and ordered them to proceed to el-Rostáq; but after reaching 'Awábí, they were obliged to retreat, not being strong enough to fight. Bel'arab-bin Náṣir then wrote to the Wálí of Maṣṣat, Himyer-bin Suleimán-bin Ahmed el-Ríyámí, to surrender that place to them, which he did. The town of Nakhl also was delivered up without a blow. The insurgents then sent forth a detachment under Málik bin-Seyf el-Ya'rabí, who succeeded in taking Semáíl without opposition, the Wálí evacuating the place. This was in the month of Thul-Ḳa'deh of the same year. The Benú-Rúáheh joined Málik, who next marched to Izkí, which he took without any fighting. Ya'rab then marched with his adherents of the Nezwá people and the Benú-Ríyám, attended by the Ḳádhí 'Adí-bin Suleimán el-Thahalí, and came to Izkí. The Sheykh of that place declared for him, and came out to meet him with offers of hospitality and supplies. For two days he remained writing to Málik-bin Seyf, summoning him to come forth from the Fort. And as he refused to do so after that time, Ya'rab commenced hostilities and fired twice on him with cannon. The detachment of the Benú-Hináh under Šáhib el-'Anbúr² of el-Rostáq, however, coming up against Ya'rab, his army was scattered, and he, finding himself deserted, returned to Nezwá. The Ḳádhí 'Adí-bin Suleimán fled to el-Rostáq, where the people seized him and Suleimán-bin Khalfán, and bound them to the pillory, where they were slain by some of Bel'arab-bin Náṣir's people, and their bodies were dragged through the streets by the people of el-Rostáq. This occurred on the feast of the Hijj in the same year. Šáhib el-'Anbúr then proceeded to Nezwá, and commenced writing to Ya'rab, urging him to come forth from the Fort. Some of the Nezwá people, also, went to him and asked him to evacuate the place, in order to save bloodshed. They did not cease importuning him to this end, until at length he consented, on condition of their leaving him in the Fort of Yabrín and abstaining from molesting him. They entered into a compact with him to that effect, on which he went forth from Nezwá. By this act his Imámate terminated. He proceeded straight to Yabrín, and Šáhib

el-'Anbúr entered the Fort of Nezwá, and firing a salute from all the guns proclaimed Seyf-bin Sultán Imám.

THE IMÁM SEYF-BIN SULTÁN. All the forts of 'Omán were surrendered to him, and all the tribes and towns submitted to his authority. Matters went on in this wise for two months all but three days, when it was the will of God to bring to pass what He had foreseen would befall the people of 'Omán, on account of their fickle and changeable behaviour. For God does not send vicissitudes on a people until they are untrue to themselves. In the trials He sends, he who is steadfast in his religion is distinguished from the backslider and hypocrite. God said those words, "*Do men imagine it shall be sufficient for them to say, 'we believe,' while they be not proved? We proved heretofore those who were before them; for God will surely know those who are sincere, and He will surely know the liars.*"³

God then foresaw what was predestined to occur, that the actions of all men should come to light, and the evildoer suffer for his misdeeds, and the obedient be fortified, each being requited according to his good or evil deeds, like as pure gold is tested by fire. It has been said too, "By trial is a man honored or despised."

When it was settled that Bel'arab-bin Náşir should administer the Government as regent, and that Seyf-bin Sultán was Imám, the various tribes and chiefs came to offer their congratulations on this. Bel'arab-bin Náşir on this occasion let fall threats against certain tribes, especially the Benú-Gháfir⁴ and the people of Bahlá. It is said when Mohammed-bin Náşir-bin 'Ámir el-Gháfirí came with a party of his tribe, the Seyyid Bel'arab uttered menaces against them, on which Mohammed-bin Náşir retired deeply offended, and entered into correspondence with Ya'rab-bin Bel'arab and the people of Bahlá, urging them to rise in revolt. He went also himself to the Bedouins of el-Dhafrah, the Benú-Na'ím, Benú-Ḳatab, and the rest.

Bel'arab on his part sent to invite the chiefs of Nezwá to join him, and a large number of them did so, and were received with honor, and desired to give their allegiance to Seyf-bin Sultán. He then sent a detachment⁵ under his brother Suleimán-bin Náşir with orders to proceed by Wádí-Semáíl, and bring Ya'rab to el-Rostáḳ. He ordered the Nezwá people to accompany this force, but they ceased not to ask the chiefs of el-Rostáḳ to intercede with him to excuse them from this duty until he consented. The detachment proceeded as far as Fark, where they passed the night, and the people of Nezwá sent them food and refreshments. Suddenly, they heard the firing of cannon from the Fort of Nezwá, and enquiring what had happened, were informed that Ya'rab-bin Bel'arab had entered the Fort. Thereupon they returned to Izkí, where Suleimán-bin Náşir seized the Fort and remained in the town. Bel'arab-bin Náşir had meanwhile despatched a second detachment against Ya'rab by way of el-Dháhireh, but on their

reaching Bahlá, the people of that place seized and imprisoned them there. A third party, which was sent to Wádí Bení-Gháfir, was defeated and retired to el-Rostáq.

Ya'rab, on the other hand, sent a detachment with two guns against Izkí. When they arrived before the place, they opened fire on the Fort, but were worsted and retired to Nezwá after losing several men. He then sent another force against Izkí. They halted for a day on the west side of the town, and the following morning saw them in retreat on Nezwá without having struck a blow. A third force, also, was sent which occupied the western side of Izkí, and bombarded the Fort with cannon for about ten days, after which Málik-bin Náşir arrived at Izkí from el-Rostáq, and, having been joined by the garrison, made a sortie on Ya'rab's troops, but was repulsed. The Bedouins of Ya'rab's army attacked and plundered Suddá and the quarter named el-Rahhá of Izkí, and burned the abode of Himyer-bin Manír outside el-Rahhá. The leaders of Ya'rab's force next attacked el-Yemen tribe, but were defeated, and one of the commanders, Mohammed-bin Sa'íd-bin Zíyád of Bahlá, was killed.

Málik-bin Náşir, having been told that the el-Nizár^o had joined Ya'rab's men in the attack on the el-Yemen, sent for the Sheykhs of the former clan and placed them in irons in the chief mosque. He then sent to the people of el-Sharkíyeh, and a large army of them came to his aid. The Benú-Hináh also came in large numbers, and the whole having united at Izkí attacked Ya'rab's force. The drums and a small body of men were sent out by the side of el-Manzalíyeh, and the main body marched out from the directions of el-'Atab on Friday at sunset. A great battle was fought, in which the musketry rattled like peals of thunder, and swords flashed like lightning. The result was the defeat of Ya'rab's army. The slaughter was great: from what I have heard, three hundred men fell on both sides, but God knows!

Náşir-bin Málik then marched with his followers on the town of Manh, and a detachment attacked Faleyj of Wádí el-Hajar, killed many of the inhabitants, and plundered all that they found in the place. They then burned down the houses of Zakít and Mahyúl, after which they reached Manh, where they plundered the "Hujreh" of Ma'mad, burned the houses, and slew numbers of the inhabitants, who were dispersed in all directions. They next marched on Nezwá, and pitched their camp at the mosque of el-Makhas of Fark, and laid siege to Nezwá. They destroyed the cultivation, and burned many sugar-cane fields of el-Heylí and el-Khadhrá. They also burned the houses of Fark, and committed depredations everywhere.

The people of Nezwá and Ya'rab's followers sallied out against them, and, after an engagement in which several were slain on each side, both armies fell back to their former positions. After this, there was fighting

every day: many were killed and the people of Nezwá experienced much suffering.

At length, a great battle was fought, the like of which we have not heard of the forces of. The forces of Málik were well nigh put to flight only; when half of them had fled, the remainder were unable to escape, as the enemy had surrounded them like a ring. Despairing of escape from slaughter, they made a desperate rally and fought with fury. The Nezwá men, on the other hand, thought victory secured, and many commenced to plunder, each one trusting to his comrades to keep watch. In this situation, a body of Málik's men made a determined attack on them and routed them. In their flight they lost numbers in killed and wounded. The enemy pursued as far as a place called Jannúr el-Khoseh, near the bend of el-'Akr, slaying and capturing. A great number of the inhabitants of Nezwá fell on that day. Bel'arab then returned to his camp, and for some time desultory skirmishing daily occurred. At length, Málik marched out with all his force, excepting only a few, whom he left to guard his camp, and advanced as far as Hinát of el-'Akr. His plan was to attack that place from the enclosed garden of Showeykh, making loopholes in the wall for musketry. The people of Nezwá, however, sallied out against him, and the millstones of war revolved amongst them for an hour of that day, at the end of which Málik-bin Náşir was slain, and his forces were routed and forced to retreat to their camp. They remained encamped there, but were much weakened by the fall of Náşir. Fighting nevertheless continued between them and the people of Nezwá, until Mohammed-bin Náşir the Gháfirí arrived with his force from el-Gharbíyeh, after having fought several severe battles at Wádí el-Şakal and in el-Jow, and at Dhank and el-Ghabbí. I refrain from describing these actions to avoid prolixity, and as moreover they are well known.

Mohammed-bin Náşir now ordered an attack to be made on a body of the enemy in el-Makhádh. His forces accordingly attacked and surrounded them, and the fire of matchlocks was sustained from morning till night. When night fell, Mohammed-bin-Náşir ordered an assault to be made on them from the el-Şakal side along the Wádí leading to Farķ. The attack succeeded, and morning found the place completely evacuated, not one of the enemy being left in it, all having fled. At this time, the Seyyid Ya'rab was ill. Mohammed-bin Náşir then returned to Nezwá, where he remained a few days, after which he ordered his army to march on el-Rostáķ.

The siege of Nezwá had lasted two months all but six days.

On arrival at el-Rostáķ, Mohammed-bin Náşir encamped with his entire force at Felej el-Sharát. His men desired to assault a tower in which 'Alí-bin Mohammed Şáhib el-'Anbúr had ensconced himself; but Mohammed-bin Náşir restrained them until Şáhib el-'Anbúr and his men commenced hostilities, when the assault was ordered. A severe fight ensued, in which

Şáhib el-'Anbúr and many of his people were slain and the remainder routed. Mohammed-bin Náşir then returned to Felej el-Sharát, and, on the following day, entered Felej el-Madrá, where Bel'arab-bin Náşir met him as a suppliant. Mohammed agreed to make peace on condition of his surrendering the Fort of el-Rostáq, and all other Forts in his possession.

They accordingly proceeded together to the Fort of el-Rostáq. Now Bel'arab meditated treachery towards Mohammed-bin Náşir, but the latter, shrewd and cautious, declined to enter except with his men, and when all had entered, he entered also. As soon as they were in, his troops commenced to pillage the town, and they abducted so many children that they were sold into foreign countries. This treatment was the requital of their evil doing and of their treatment of the Kádhí of the Musalmáns 'Adí-bin Suleimán. "*Verily God will not change His grace which is in men, until they change the disposition in their souls by sin.*" The death of Ya'rab-bin Bel'arab occurred whilst Mohammed-bin Náşir was at el-Rostáq, thirteen days before the expiry of Jumádi el-Ukhrá, A. H. 1135. [A. D. 1723]. The people of Nezwá, however, fearing the enemy would attack them, concealed the fact for nearly fifty days.

Mohammed-bin Náşir ordered Bel'arab to be imprisoned in fetters, after he had commanded him to surrender all the Forts in his possession. There remained only Maskat and Birkeh^s in the hands of the Benú-Hináh. Mohammed-bin Náşir remained at el-Rostáq and proclaimed Seyf-bin Sulţán Imám.

The people of el-Rostáq fled to the hills and valleys. I have heard that in a cavern, in the direction of the district of Mahálíl, were found the bodies of about one hundred women and children, who had perished of thirst, afraid to return to el-Rostáq lest they should be carried off and sold into slavery.

Three days after he took el-Rostáq, Mohammed-bin Náşir was joined by a re-inforcement of about fifteen hundred men of the Benú-Kóleyb and Benú-Ka'b, armed with matchlocks and spears. There also arrived Rahmeh-bin Maţr-bin Rahmeh el-Hawalí with about 5000 "Bedú" and "Hadr," amongst whom were some who did not understand Arabic⁹ and were unable to distinguish friend from foe.

Khalf-bin Mubárik, known as el-Kaşír [or the Dwarf], a native of el-Ghashb, who was not at el-Rostáq during the fighting, took possession of the Forts of Birkeh and Maskat, having with him the Benú-Hináh. Mohammed-bin Náşir sent 'Alí-bin Mohammed el-Kharúsí as Wálí of the Fort of Barká, but he was slain and his followers returned to Mohammed-bin Náşir at el-Rostáq. The latter thereupon directed the whole of his forces on Barká. So Rahmeh-bin Maţr el-Hawalí marched with his contingent; also Hamzah-bin Hammád el-Kóleybí with his men, and Ahmed-bin 'Alí el-Gháfirí with the force contributed by Mohammed-bin Náşir.

Likewise Mohammed-bin 'Adí-bin Suleimán el-Thahalí, with the men he had brought from el-Şír. Also Mohammed-bin Náşir el-Harrásí with his clan. All these proceeded, each in command of his own division, until they reached Mesna'á. There a letter arrived from the Benú-Hináh, addressed by Kar'a el-Darmakí to Rahmeh-el-Hawalí saying: "Do not come further against us, as we are coming to meet you," in the sense of a threat. When Rahmeh read the letter, he understood its meaning, and at once ordered an advance on Barká, sending scouts ahead to that place. The latter finding Kar'a and his followers advancing against Rahmeh, returned with the intelligence. Rahmeh encountered them at a place called el-Ķásim. Ķodheyb el-Hawalí charged the enemy on horseback, followed closely by the remainder of the force. Ten of the enemy were killed, and Kar'a and his followers were routed. Ķodheyb received a slight wound. Rahmeh then moved his men eastward, and halted at el-Hifrí,¹⁹ which belongs to the el-Jibúr, to allow his men rest and refreshment. Thence he sent out his scouts, who reported that Khalf-bin Mubárik el-Ķaşír had moved by land and sea with an innumerable force. Those on the side of Mohammed-bin Náşir amounted to 5000 men, "Bedú" and "Hadhr" of various tribes. The rival armies encountered to the west of Barká, and a severe contest ensued. Rahmeh's men had cannon, with which they fired on the vessels which were on the sea, and forced them to stand further out. The battle ended in the defeat of Khalf-bin Mubárik, who mounted a camel and fled. His forces were broken and pursued by those of Mohammed-bin Náşir, who slew and captured many, until finding no refuge from slaughter many plunged into the sea, and endeavoured to gain the ships. These, however, had put to sea, and they failed to reach them. The victors meanwhile kept up a fire on them until all perished. The bodies were then stripped of arms and all else on them. When the dead bodies were thrown up by the sea, they found the number of killed amounted to 1012 men. The remainder of the fugitives were pursued until they entered the Fort of Barká. The adherents of Mohammed-bin Náşir then encamped by the side of the hill at Barká, and laid siege to the Fort. Four days afterwards, the garrison embarked in the ships, and went to Maskat, leaving only a few men in the Fort, the town being empty. The army of Mohammed-bin Náşir then returned to el-RostáĶ, and Rahmeh returned to his own country.

Mohammed-bin Náşir remained a time in el-RostáĶ, where he had so severe an attack of small-pox, that fears were entertained for his life. When he recovered, he ordered an expedition to proceed to YanĶal. He placed in el-RostáĶ as Wálí Mohammed-bin Náşir el-Harrásí, and with him in the Fort he left the Bahlá chiefs and Sinán-bin Mohammed-bin Sinán el-Mahthúr el-Gháfirí.

Mohammed-bin Náşir and Seyf-bin Sultán then marched carrying

with them Bel'arab-bin Náşir and all the Ya'árabeh in fetters,¹¹ and proceeded until they reached Maḳaníyát. Mohammed-bin Náşir's stay at el-Rostáḳ had lasted about two months. On arrival at Maḳaníyát, he sent to the tribes of Dháhireh and 'Omán and to the Benú-Yás, summoning them to his aid. They obeyed his call, and a large army of about 12,000 men assembled under him. His camp was at Felej el-Manádereh, on the Yanḳal side. On summoning the people of the town to surrender the Fort to him, they failed to do so, and returned him no answer. In the morning, he moved his camp, intending to occupy the high ground, above the source of the el-Mohídith stream of el-Baṭhá. The Benú-'Alí and their allies of Yanḳal opposed him, and a severe conflict occurred, in which many of the Benú-'Alí were slain, notably the son of their Sheykh Suleimán-bin Sálím. On Mohammed-bin Náşir's side, Sálím-bin Zíyád el-Gháfirí, Seyf-bin Náşir el-Shakeylí and one other were wounded.

Mohammed-bin Náşir then encamped on the heights above the fountain head of the el-Mohídith stream, and besieged the garrison, firing on them from guns and matchlocks. Another engagement was fought, in which many were killed. On the side of Mohammed-bin Náşir there fell the Wálí of Dhank, Mohammed-bin Khalf el-Ḳuyúdhí, and one of his cousins. They then cut off the supply of water by breaking up the aqueduct, on which the garrison accepted terms, and agreed to surrender the Forts. Intelligence next reached Mohammed-bin Náşir that Sa'íd-bin Haweyd had entered el-Seleyf with his followers and joined the el-Şúáwafeh, who sided with the Benú-Hináh. He accordingly directed his army on el-Seleyf, and on arrival there sent a message to Sa'íd-bin Haweyd and the people of el-Seleyf, inviting them to make their submission, but they declined. A number of the el-Şúáwafeh of Ten'am, however, joined Mohammed-bin Náşir, and tendered their allegiance. He then attacked the Fort of the el-Muráshíd of el-Seleyf, and overturned the walls, burying under the ruins all the men, women, and children, who were within the place. Sa'íd-bin Haweyd then requested safe passage for himself and his followers to his own district. Mohammed-bin Náşir acceded to his request, and not only allowed him free egress, but supplied him with provisions for his journey. After this, there only remained at el-Seleyf the Forts of the el-Şúáwafeh and the el-Manádereh. The latter seeing what had befallen the el-Muráshíd, made their submission to Mohammed-bin Náşir, who pardoned them and suffered them to remain unmolested in their stronghold.

The el-Şúáwafeh, on the contrary, held out, so Mohammed-bin Náşir continued to besiege them, cutting down their date trees, and slaying them daily. He dismissed his Bedouin auxiliaries, retaining only the Benú-Yás and the "Hadhr" tribes. When the siege had lasted over two months, the garrison agreed to demolish the Fort with their own hands; on their doing

this, peace was concluded. Meanwhile Khalf-bin Mubárik el-Kaşír, seeing Mohammed-bin Náşir engaged in the siege of el-Seleyf, laid siege to el-Rostáq. Now Sabá' el-'Amúri had previously taken the Fort of Şohár.

When Sinán-bin Mohammed el-Mahthúr el-Gháfirí, the warden of the Fort, was killed, Mohammed-bin Náşir el-Harrásí and his followers came forth from the Fort of el-Rostáq, and, Khalf-bin Mubárik entering, the place was surrendered to him.

Sabá' el-'Amúri had meanwhile taken the Fort of Şohár, and Mohammed-bin Náşir found himself unable to return from el-Seleyf and march to the relief of el-Rostáq and Şohár, for fear his enemies in el-Dháhireh should become too strong for him.

Khalf el-Kaşír then moved against the Fort of el-Hazam, the Wálí of which was 'Omer-bin Şálih-bin Mes'úd el-Gháfirí. He besieged the place, and diverted the course of the stream which supplied it with water. He then sent a message to the Wálí, offering safe passage for him and his men, on condition of their evacuating the Fort. The Wálí refused, and wrote to Mohammed-bin Náşir to inform him of what had occurred, and that they had no water except a small quantity in a cistern. Mohammed, accordingly, having made peace with the people of el-Seleyf and razed their Fort, proceeded to el-Hazam with an innumerable army, and when he reached that place, fell upon Khalf's forces. After many had been slain, the latter took to flight, leaving their arms, ammunition, and provisions behind. Mohammed-bin Náşir then returned to el-Dháhireh without visiting el-Rostáq, his object being Bilád-Seyt. Having assembled a numerous force of "Bedú" and "Hadhr," he marched from el-Dháhireh to Bilád-Seyt. The inhabitants refusing to comply with his summons to submission, he laid siege to the place, and his men having assaulted, slew many of the people.

He next attacked el-'Áridh, which belonged to the Benú-'Ádí, and took that place, and also Ghamar. The uplands of the Benú-Hináh fell into his hands, and none of that tribe remained in them. Some were slain, and those who asked quarter were sent away in safety. In the attack on Bilád-Seyt, about ten of Mohammed-bin Náşir's men were slain and several wounded. He then ordered his army to Nezwá, where he remained about six months, during part of the winter, until harvest time. Having summoned the people of the Manah [or Manh] district to submit to him, they refused, so he sent a force against them which surrounded them, and cut down their date trees at Felej el-Fíkein and Jarr-'Álí, and, when their property was destroyed, they made their submission.

Mohammed-bin Náşir then returned to el-Dháhireh, and, halting at el-Ghabbí of el-Sirr, busied himself raising a fresh army, until he had collected a large number of "Bedú" and "Hadhr." He ordered the people of el-Dháhireh

to convey the fresh dates to el-Hazam, and with them he sent the people of Wádí Bení-Gháfir and their belongings. He then set out with all his forces for the settlements of the el-'Awámir in el-Sharkíyeh. He was met by the el-'Awámir and the *Al-Wahíbeh*¹² Bedouins and the Benú-Hináh, and a fierce battle took place, in which Mohammed-bin Náşir's followers were well nigh put to flight; but they rallied and stood firm, and eventually the Benú-Hináh¹³ were put to flight, and a great number of them was slain. The pursuit was kept up until they entered the Hujreh of el-'Aqíl. Mohammed-bin Náşir and his followers returned in triumph to Yabrín, accompanied by the Seyyid Seyf-bin Sultán. Mohammed-bin Náşir then returned to el-Dháhireh, to recruit his forces, and, being joined by a large number, returned to Nezwá. He collected all the people of Nezwá, and Izkí and Bahlá, also the Benú-Ríyám, and marched with them to Seişam. Thence he sent to summon Sa'íd-bin Haweyd el-Hináwí, and the followers who had joined him from el-'Aqír and el-Gháfát, and, on their refusal to submit, besieged them. Sa'íd-bin Haweyd then passed out, and proceeded through el-Dháhireh to Şohár, in order to raise men there and at Yanqal, for the people of the latter place had broken the truce. A large force joined him, on which he returned to 'Amlá and drew in his forces. He collected many of the Benú-Hináh from Wádí el-'Ulá and all their villages. When he reached Felej el-'Aishí, he meditated an attack on Mohammed-bin Náşir and his followers. Sa'íd-bin Haweyd had been away collecting forces for seven months and seven days, and Mohammed-bin Náşir, fearing he might fall on him unawares, had distributed scouts throughout the districts, and these brought him the intelligence of the advance of Sa'íd with a large force. Mohammed ordered his troops to intercept him ere he reached the district, and they accordingly met the advancing foe at the entrance of el-Gháfát. A great battle was fought, in which Sa'íd-bin Haweyd el-Hináwí was slain, and amongst those of his adherents who fell was Ghaşn-el-'Alawí, chief of Yanqal. The total number of Sa'íd's followers slain was two hundred, the remainder dispersed. Mohammed-bin Náşir ordered recitations to be pronounced in every district of Bahlá and Nezwá, and the towns of el-Dháhireh to celebrate his victory.

His followers dragged the corpse of Sa'íd-bin Haweyd to the Fort of el-Gháfát, in which were his family, children, and followers, expecting that on beholding the sight, they would surrender; but they refused to do so. The siege was therefore continued for two months longer, when the garrison, having eaten all their cattle, ran short of provisions. At this time Mubárik-bin Sa'íd-bin Bedr commanded the forces of Mohammed-bin Náşir, who after the battle had returned to Yabrín. So, when their provisions were exhausted, and many had been slain, and their property destroyed, the garrison were granted terms on condition of their demolishing the Fort.

This they did with their own hands, on which they were suffered to depart in safety.

The Fort of el-'Aķır continued, however, to hold out.

Mohammed-bin Nášir then dismissed Mubárik-bin Sa'íd-bin Bedr, and appointed in his place Rášhid-bin Sa'íd Rášhid el-Gháfirí, who continued the siege of el-'Aķır. He had under his orders the men of Bahlá, Nezwá, Izkí, and el-Dháhireh, and also the Benú-Gháfir, and Benú-Ríyám. They so closely invested the place, that not a soul could enter or leave it. When the provisions were exhausted, the garrison sued for peace, which was granted, the terms being the demolition of their Fort. They were accordingly obliged to demolish the walls, after losing all they possessed. There remained to them neither date trees nor water-courses, and they had consumed the whole of their cattle. So under these conditions they were granted peace and safety of their persons. After which the troops returned, each man to his native place.

Mohammed-bin Nášir next prepared another force of "Bedú" and "Hadr," and marched on the towns of the el-Habús of el-Sharkíyeh, namely, Madheybí, and el-Rowdheh. At the former town, they encountered the army of Khalf-bin Mubárik el-Ķaşır, consisting of the el-Habús and others of the Benú-Hináh. In the battle which ensued, Khalf-bin Mubárik was defeated and forced to take refuge in the "Hujreh" of el-Madheybí. Mohammed-bin Nášir besieged them, and began to cut down the date trees, on which they sued for peace and quarter. Mohammed acceded, not knowing that Khalf-bin Mubárik was with them in the "Hujreh." Afterwards a certain person came and informed him that Khalf was in the place, but it did not seem good to him to break the terms of peace. Khalf then fled from el-Madheybí, and Mohammed-bin Nášir pursued him with his army until he reached Ibrá, which place Khalf entered, not imagining that Mohammed-bin Nášir would pursue him so far. He abode with the el-Harth,¹⁴ to whom Mohammed sent summoning them to submit themselves to him, and to eject Khalf from amongst them. On their refusing to do so, he made daily attacks on them, cutting down their date and other trees, and destroying their water-courses. Finding themselves powerless to cope with Mohammed-bin Nášir, they secretly sent away Khalf from amongst them. The latter who was head of the whole of the Benú-Hináh, proceeded to Maskat. After his departure, Mohammed-bin Nášir made peace with the el-Harth, granting them an amnesty, and retiring from the place. The whole of el-Sharkíyeh submitted to him. He then returned to Yabrín, and tarried a space at that place, which was his favourite residence.

He next went to el-Dháhireh and collected a numerous force there, with which he marched westwards, not one of his followers knowing whither he purposed to proceed. Passing through the districts of el-Na'im,¹⁵ he col-

lected men from that tribe and the Benú-Yás, and led them to Nejd el-Jezí, traversing the district of the Benú-Koleyb, some of whom joined him. He then passed into the sea-board tract of el-Báṭineh, causing terror to the people of Şohár, without, however, attacking them. He then marched eastward. The inhabitants of Felej el-Howásineh were alarmed lest he should destroy their valley. His troops seized and ate all the camels and cattle they found. Some amongst them had no conception who were their friends and who their enemies. Khalf-bin Mubárik having received intelligence of Mohammed's movements, encountered him at Afláj-'Ar'ar. A severe contest ensued, and Khalf's followers took to flight, and he himself was shut up in a house. Mohammed-bin Náşir and his men went in pursuit of the flying enemy, not knowing of Khalf's being in that house. The latter, on his part, imagined that Mohammed satisfied with his victory had left him. Mohammed-bin Náşir then entered el-Rostáq, and commenced destroying the water channels, and writing to the people, summoning them to submit. As they refused, he destroyed the aqueducts of el-Meyser, Bú-Tha'lab, and el-Hammám, and cut down some date groves. The people of el-Rostáq, being unable to sally forth to oppose him, at length thought of making their submission.

Mohammed-bin Náşir now received intelligence that Ráshid-bin Sa'íd el-Gháfirí had seized the Fort of Maḵaníyát, the Wálí of which was Mubárik-bin Sa'íd-bin Bedr. This was caused by Ráshid's jealousy of Mubárik on account of the preference shown for him by Mohammed-bin Náşir. The latter on hearing the news ordered his forces to march on el-Rostáq, after having destroyed its water-courses. Meanwhile 'Alí-bin Náşir-bin Ahmed el-Kelbání, went to Ráshid-bin Sa'íd, and by his advice induced him to make over the Fort to himself, guaranteeing that Mohammed-bin Náşir would not punish him. So 'Alí-bin Náşir took charge of the Fort until the arrival of Mohammed-bin Náşir, who left Mubárik there as Wálí, with the tribe el-Hawátim, and himself returned to Yabrín, where he remained for a considerable time. Thence he proceeded with his attendants to Nezwá, and summoned the chiefs of tribes and learned men from the east and from the west of 'Omán. A great number of these having assembled, he demanded of them that he should be excused from waging wars, and administering the affairs of the Musalmáns, and that they would appoint whomsoever they pleased to govern for the Seyyid Seyf-bin Sultán. However, the Kádhí Náşir-bin Suleimán-bin Mohammed-bin Maddád, and 'Abdullah-bin Mohammed-bin Rushí-bin Maddád, who was Wálí of Nezwá fort, and the chiefs of tribes who were present, would not accept his resignation. They closed the gates of the Fort of Nezwá and el-'Akr, allowing none to enter or depart. All that day and night they ceased not to apply themselves to adjust the matter, until near morning they elected Mohammed-bin Náşir Imám as a measure of precaution.

THE IMÁM MOHAMMED-BIN NA'ŞIR-BIN 'ÁMIR EL-GHA'FIRI'. The guns of the Fort of Nezwá were accordingly fired, and a proclamation was issued announcing the Imámate of Mohammed-bin Náşir and offering honorable treatment and security to every tribe, whether "Yemen" or "Nizár," "Bedú" or "Hadhr," which should enter Nezwá to visit him.

This was on Saturday, seven days before the expiry of the month of el-Moharram, A. H. 1137 [A. D. 1724.]. The Imám remained at Nezwá to lead the prayers on the following Friday, after which he removed with his attendants to Yabrín, and, having dismissed his forces, tarried there a space.

Hearing that Máni'-bin Khamís el-'Azízí had attacked el Ghabbí, taken its Fort, plundered the bazar, and committed other depredations, he proceeded to that place, and scaled the Fort wall with only six followers. He gained the upper part of the Fort before the garrison were aware of his presence, and when they discovered him, they fled in terror, one of Máni'-bin Khamís's slaves being slain. In this manner he captured the Fort, and having appointed a Wálí, returned to Yabrín.

Soon after, Muhenná-bin 'Adí el-Ya'rabí with 'Ámir-bin Suleimán-bin Bel'arab el-Riyámí and Suleimán-bin Himyer-bin 'Alí el-Ya'rabí attacked and took the magazine of el-Birkeh. On hearing of this, Mohammed-bin Náşir proceeded against them, and sent to the Kádhí Náşir-bin Suleimán and the Wálí 'Abdullah-bin Mohammed, desiring him to join him with a force from Nezwá at Birkeh. He himself did not go to Nezwá. With the few soldiers and attendants he had with him, he attacked the enemy in the forenoon and put many to the sword. He then advised them to retire, and restore what they had taken from the magazine, but they refused and fought against him. They held the Mesjid el-Sharí'eh above el-Birkeh and the hill to the last, and broke up the water-course. Mohammed-bin Náşir constructed a tower in the Mesjid below el-Sharí'eh el-Birkeh on the lower hill. They kept up a fire of matchlocks on either side and one of the Maghribí¹⁶ horsemen of Mohammed-bin Náşir's force was killed, and one wounded. He then ordered his men to attack the enemy, who fled in disorder, and Náşir-bin Bel'arab el-Riyámí and 'Alí-bin Şálih, the chief of Kemeh, were made prisoners. This happened before the reinforcement from Nezwá had come up. Mohammed then ordered the dates to be conveyed to Yabrín, and returned himself to Nezwá, taking up his abode in the mosque of el-Ghantak. He had intended to make war on the people of Tenúf,¹⁷ but God saved them from this, and they met him and made promises that they would not act treacherously by him, on which he became reconciled to them. He then ordered all who owed allegiance to him in 'Omán to assemble; and accordingly, a large number having collected, he marched with them from Nezwá purposing to proceed to Dhank to arrange for the return of

the Washáhát to their own district, and to rebuild for the people of Dhank the Fort which he had destroyed when they were in allegiance to Khalf-bin-Mubárik. The Ál-'Azíz, however, demurred to their return and to the rebuilding of the Fort. This tribe having collected some of the Bedouins and their own adherents, resolved to fight him and those of the el-Washáhát with him. The encounter took place at Dhank, and the Ál-'Azíz, discovering their inability to cope with him, dispersed. Máni'-bin Khamís having gone to Seneyneh to the el-Na'ím, Mohammed went in search of him with a small body of his followers mounted on horses and swift camels, and coming on them unawares, made prisoner Máni'-bin Khamís and returned to Dhank.

On his return towards el-Ghabbí, he passed by the water-courses of the Ál-'Azíz Bedouins, who had plundered the bazar of el-Ghabbí, and destroyed them, after which he went on to el-Ghabbí, and remained there until all those of the tribes of el-Dháhireh who were willing had assembled. He then proceeded to Yabrín, and after a short stay there came to Nezwá, and abode in the house of el-Mazra' until he had collected a force. He then went to Izkí, and gathered men from that place and also from all el-Shar-kiyeh. The Benú-Rúáheh were alarmed at his proceedings.

He next proceeded to Semáíl and ceased not to admonish the el-Bekriín and people of el-Hílí and the tribe of 'Akkásheh. The people of el-Hílí and the 'Akkásheh having made peace with him and submitted, he sent them to the el-Bekriín to bring them to terms. As they were unable to prevail with the latter tribe, Mohammed-bin Náşir ordered an attack to be made on them on a dark and rainy winter's night, amid thunder and lightning. They did not perceive him until he had gained the top of the wall, where a watchman was posted. He asked the latter, "For whom are you watching?" He replied, "fearing lest Mohammed-bin Náşir should attack us." "This," he rejoined, "is Mohammed-bin Náşir at your side." Those in the "Hujreh" then fled, and most of them were permitted to go forth unmolested. There only remained to be taken a tower and some upper rooms, in which were Bekr and his sons and cousins. A fire of matchlocks was kept up upon these until they were slain to the last man. Of Mohammed's followers four were slain, one of whom was a slave of his, named Bakhít el-Núbí [the Nubian], whom he had placed over all his slaves. He fell from a matchlock bullet. The "Hujreh" was razed to the ground. Semáíl now paid up three years arrears of zekát. Before this the Ál-'Omeyr had done much harm in the place, and had appropriated the property of absent persons. Mohammed-bin Náşir therefore restored all property to the rightful owners. He imprisoned the Owlád Sa'íd-bin 'Alí and razed their "Hujreh" to the ground.

After that, Mohammed-bin Náşir directed his forces on el-Heyl in el-

Báṭineh, to intercept Khalf-bin Mubárik el-Ḳaṣír in his march from Maskat to el-Rosták. He with his slaves patrolled the road as far as el-Ghobrah. Khalf-bin Mubárik, however, having ascertained that Mohammed had closed the road against him, and not being sufficiently strong to encounter him, remained at Maskat, and placed sentries on the roads and walls. Mohammed-bin Náṣir remained at el-Heyl for about half a month, during which time the el-Ma'áwal tribe came to terms with him, but subsequently broke faith.

He then returned to Semáil, and taking with him men of that place proceeded against the Bedouins of 'Ámer Rabí'ah and 'Al-Sa'alí, and those of the dwellers in el-Báṭineh comprised under those names. He was himself mounted on a mare and armed with spear and scimitar, with which he struck right and left, hamstringing their camels, to prevent their carrying them away. Coming on a body of his enemies, he slew their men, on which the women, taking him for Khalf, cried out, "Quarter! O Khalf-bin Mubárik! we are in allegiance to you." He, however, redoubled his efforts in slaying them, riding in front of his men, so that none kept up with him save those on horseback or on swift camels. The Seyyid Seyf-bin Sultán was with him; indeed he was never separated from him in all his expeditions. After this, he returned to el-Hazam, and after remaining there a few days went to Sení in Wádí Bení-Gháfir, where he remained a short time, and dismissed all his followers, except the guard and his personal retainers. He next went to el-Ghabbí and, after spending a few days there, returned to Yabrín, which was his chief residence.

At this time, the Bedouins had so infested all the roads of 'Omán, plundering and murdering, that people could only travel in large parties. The chief offenders were the 'Al-Wahíbeh, who had a chief whom they called Bú-Khark. Mohammed-bin Náṣir assembled them, with all their families, camels, and flocks, and commanded them to encamp round Yabrín. This he did, in order to show his resentment towards them: and he kept them so until their camels and flocks perished, they being powerless to resist him.

On the 11th of the month of el-Hijj, he issued forth with his followers in search of the 'Al-Wahíbeh. He destroyed their settlement of el-Sadeyreh, and slew all of them who were in that place. The rest fled to the low lying sands of 'Omán and its desert tracts, where no water is found, imagining he would be unable to reach them there, as the "Hadrh" Arabs had little knowledge of the routes of those localities, and it would be difficult for them to find the way to their haunts. But Mohammed-bin Náṣir followed them even there, and killed thirty-six of their chief men, and made prisoners of ninety-five. He also killed their camels and other cattle, and carried the prisoners bound with cords to Yabrín. But Abú-Khark escaped to Maskat and joined the Benú-Hináh. Mohammed-bin Náṣir kept the prisoners in

fetters at Yabrín until they all died. He remained at Yabrín some months after this. Abú-Kharḵ then sent a message to Mohammed-bin Náṣir, saying that in future he would not molest any one, nor commit any depredations. And after those occurrences, from that day to this, we have not heard of any one being robbed or ill-treated on any of the roads of 'Omán, from the east of it to the west.

Mohammed-bin Náṣir then ordered a general levy of all in allegiance to him in 'Omán, from east to west. An immense force accordingly gathered round him at Yabrín, the number of which God only knows. He sent to the districts of the Benú-Hináh of Wálí el-'Ulá, and el-Heyl, and Şamm, and 'Omlá. All the Benú-Hináh submitted and none opposed him. He then proceeded to Yanḵal, and having encamped on the high ground, sent a summons to the garrison to surrender the Fort to him. They, however, refused and prepared to resist. One night, an inhabitant of Yanḵal named 'Aşám came forth, and secretly made terms for himself, saying only, the place was not in his hands. Mohammed-bin Náṣir replied, "Counsel your men to submit, in order to avoid bloodshed." They, however, would not follow his advice and continued to resist. Now the house of 'Aşám was on the wall, in which was a small gateway. 'Aşám admitted Mohammed and his followers by this gate into the town, and two of the inhabitants were slain. They then begged for quarter, which Mohammed granted, but he imprisoned their Sheykh and carried them off to Yabrín. He left a Wálí in Yanḵal, the inhabitants of which submitted to him. He then marched towards Şohár, and sent forward Rabí'ah-bin Ahmed el-Wahashí to advise his cousins to descend from the Fort of Şohár. This person, however, instead of doing so, when he came to them, advised them to resist firmly. When Mohammed arrived at Şohár, he was encountered by the Benú-Hináh, and a battle was fought in which many of them were slain. Rabí'ah-bin Ahmed was wounded and made prisoner. The Benú-Hináh were defeated and retired into the Fort.

Mohammed's army occupied the principal mosque, and he himself took up his quarters in the house of Bin-Mahmúd. He then spoke to Rabí'ah-bin Ahmed and said to him, "If you wish to remain with us, you are secure, but if you wish to join your companions in the Fort, I will send you in safety." As he elected to be sent to the Fort, his wish was complied with.

Mohammed-bin Náṣir had placed twelve men mounted on mares as videttes on the eastern side of Şohár, as he had heard that Khalf-bin Mubárik had collected the Benú-Hináh from el-Rostáḵ and Maskat, and had arrived at the Fort of Şaham. Meanwhile Mohammed-bin Náṣir had received the submission of all Şohár and its inhabitants, and the latter, to whatsoever tribe belonging, had received assurances of security and none were molested. With him were Bedouins of the Benú-Yás, and Benú-Na'im, and their sub-tribes, and also the "Hadhri."

One night, a field of millet by the wells of the town was destroyed. The owner complained to Mohammed-bin Náşir, who inquired who had destroyed his field. He replied, "the Benú-Yás and the el-Na'ím, and the Bedouins, and others with you." He said, "How much compensation do you require for your field? take two hundred Mohammadís."¹⁸ On his refusal he said, "Take four hundred." He still refused, and Mohammed-bin Náşir offered five hundred. But the man said, "I will not be content unless you exact justice of them?" So he summoned the Sheykhs, and on their presenting themselves, ordered them to be bound to stakes. The man would only accept their being whipped as reparation, so he had them all scourged, and would not heed their appeals to him for mercy until justice had been exacted, when he released them from the cords.

Now this was a stratagem of the Benú-Hináh to estrange from him the Bedouins, who then left Mohammed-bin Náşir, and returned to their own lands. As soon as he heard of their departure, Khalf-bin Mubárik attacked Mohammed-bin Náşir with his adherents. The attack was made soon after sunrise, and Mohammed-bin Náşir's followers were taken by surprise. When the latter was informed of the arrival of Khalf-bin Mubárik, he is said to have remarked, "This hour is not to us, and not to them, but as God wills." Thereupon he mounted his mare, and his followers mounted with him, and they encountered Khalf at the gate of the Fort of Şohár. In the engagement Khalf-bin Mubárik was killed, and the Benú-Hináh were defeated and pursued by Mohammed-bin Náşir to the Fort wall. There a bullet fired from the Fort above struck him, and his followers carried him off and he died.¹⁹ Fifteen of his followers also were killed whose names we do not mention. The people of Maskaş and el-Rosták retired to the latter place.

For three days after the burial of Mohammed-bin-Náşir, none but the leaders knew of his death, and the garrison of the Fort of Şohár had well nigh surrendered it.

They then returned with the Seyyid Seyf-bin Sultán to Nezwá, and he was appointed Imám of the Musalmáns by the Kádhi, on Friday after sunset in the early part of Sha'bán, in the year 1140 of the Hijreh [A. D. 1728.].

Notes to Book I.

¹ (p. 112.) The fourth Book of the 'Kesh-ul-Ghummeh.'

² (p. 112.) The el-Azd. The tribe el-Azd (the Azdites) derives from Darra el-Azd, who according to the Arabian genealogers was in the tenth line of descent from Ḳaḥṭán. Ḳaḥṭán begat Ya'rub, who begat Yashjob, who begat 'Abd-el-Shems, or Sabá, who begat Kahlán, who begat Zeid, who begat Málík, who begat Nabt, who begat el-Ghauth, who begat Darra el-Azd.

³ (p. 112.) Málík-bin Fahm. The leadership of the Azdites into 'Omán is commonly, as here, ascribed to Málík-bin Fahm, whose pedigree is correctly given to el-Azd. It will thus be seen that he was in the 23rd line of descent from Ḳaḥṭán. The mention of the younger Darius might lead one to suppose that the immigration of Yemenites to 'Omán under Málík-bin Fahm occurred in the fourth century before Christ. The account also given by the writer of a paper on 'Omán, in the Bombay Government Selections, Vol. XXIV, gives the following account of this event :

"Málík-bin Fahm of the province of Najd, the first native Arabian who entered 'Omán *four centuries before the Christian era*, came by the route of Yemen, &c."

Now it is generally allowed that the period of Ḳaḥṭán, the ancestor of Málík, may be fixed somewhere about 700 B. C. Assuming this, it is impossible to believe that Málík-bin Fahm lived at the early period mentioned above. Other and more authentic accounts of Málík also prove that his period was much later. The following biographical notice of that leader is extracted from the Index to Dr. Wüstenfeld's Genealogical Tables.

"Málík-bin Fahm was leader of the Azdites when they emigrated on account of the imminent breaking of the dyke of Máreb. He led them first to 'Omán, then to el-Bahrain, and finally established himself on the borders of Syria, where he founded the kingdom, the government of which through the marriage of his daughter Racash passed to the Lakhmidites." (Reiske, *Hist. Arab.*, p. 8.)

The bursting of the dyke Máreb and consequent emigration of Yemen tribes are events which are supposed to have happened in the 1st century of our era or beginning of the 2nd. By some accounts 'Amr-Muzeiḳia, who was 17th in descent from Ḳaḥṭán and also an Azdite, was the original leader of the Yemen emigrants, and Málík is said to have arrived in 'Omán later.

— At all events the probability is that the entry of Málík-bin Fahm to 'Omán occurred in the early part of the 2nd century after Christ. The part he played in the history of 'Omán is probably exaggerated in native popular traditions. 'Omán had in older times formed a province of the Yemenite kingdom under Ya'rub-bin Ḳaḥṭán. The period of Persian conquest is, I imagine, unknown.

⁴ (p. 112.) Ka'b was ancestor of a branch of the Azdites called el-Azd el-Shanúa, a term signifying the hatred they mutually bore one another.

⁵ (p. 112.) Nasr-bin el-Azd. This personage has also been named as the leader of the Azdites from Yemen and founder of the el-Azd of 'Omán.

(*Vide* Rev. C. P. Badger's 'Imáms and Seyyids of 'Omán,' Intro., pp. VI, and VII.)

⁶ (p. 112.) Málík-bin Fahm appears to have had two brothers Soleym and 'Amr.

⁷ (p. 113.) Kelbeh meaning 'biteh.'

⁸ (p. 113.) Of Ma'add or 'Adnán.

All the preserved Arabian genealogies are traced back to one of two ancestors, either to Ḳaḥṭán or to 'Adnán. Ma'add was the son of 'Adnán, so that the term Ma'addite is

included in that of 'Adnánite. 'Adnán being accounted a descendant of Ishmael, this division of Arabian families is commonly called Ismá'ílite. The prophet Muhammed belonged to this stock, and was of the 22nd generation from 'Adnán, whose period is placed at about 300 B. C.

The great rival division consists of the Arabs of Yemen descended from Ḳaḥṭán, and these are designated Yemenite or Ḳaḥṭánite Arabs. Ḳaḥṭán is often supposed to be identical with Joktan of Genesis, but the period of the latter must have been fully 2000 years B. C., whilst the Arabs calculate this Ḳaḥṭán to have lived 400 years before 'Adnán, or in B. C. 700, leaving a discrepancy of 1300 years. Ḳaḥṭán is by some Arabic historians asserted to be descended from Ishmael. Arabian historians employ four terms in classifying the various Arab stocks, and are not in accord in the application of those terms. They are—

- el-'Arab el-Bádiyeh (البادية)
- „ „ el-'Áribeh (العربية)
- „ „ el-Mota'arribeh (المتعربة)
- „ „ el-Mosta'ribeh (المستعربة)

The terms 'Áribeh and Mosta'ribeh frequently are taken to indicate the Ḳaḥṭánite stock; Mosta'ribeh being applied to the Ishmailites. These divisions also are sometimes designated respectively “pure” or “genuine” and “naturalized” Arabs. Abul-Fedá says, historians divide the Arabs into three classes: (1) Bádiyeh, (2) 'Áribeh, and (3) Mosta'ribeh. The first were the lost tribes of 'Ad, Thamúd, and Jorham the elder, who were destroyed for impiety in the time of 'Ad. The second are the Arabs of Yemen descended from Ḳaḥṭán. The third are descendants of Ishmael, son of Abraham.

Another account taken from Ibn-Dihhiyeh divides the surviving Arabs into: 1st, el-'Áribeh, Arabs “par excellence,” claiming descent from Iram (Aram of Gen. x. 23), son of Shem. 2nd, el-Mota'arribeh, naturalized and not Arabs, descended from Ḳaḥṭán. 3rd, el-Mosta'ribeh, still less pure Arabs, descendants of Ishmael. I extract yet another account from a note in Chenery's translation of Harírí. “Shem was the primate of the earth after his father, and according to his father's blessing became the ancestor of the prophets, all of whom, whether Arabs or foreigners, are of the posterity of Shem. He went as far as Yemen and founded San'á, and settled in the middle region of the earth from Yemen to esh-Shám, possessing the Holy Place. From him were descended 'Ad and Thamúd and Tasm and Jedís and el-'Amálik, and the subjects of Ya'rob and Jorhom the elder, who were called العرب العربية el-'Arab el-'Áribeh, because they were created speaking Arabic; also the descendants of Ismá'íl, called العرب المتعربة, el-'Arab el-Mota'arribeh, because they acquired the Arabic tongue by settling among the former; also العرب المستعربة, el-'Arab el-Mosta'ribeh, who are defined as specially the “descendants of 'Adnán.” [Assemblies of Harírí, Chenery, Vol. I, p. 466.]

⁹ (p. 113.) Wádí Rekot?

¹⁰ (p. 113.) Ten sons of Málík are mentioned, Honáa being youngest. He appears to have had a grandson named Ferhúd. The name Feráhíd does not appear in Wüstenfeld's collection of pedigrees.

¹¹ (p. 113.) El-Shihr. The Esher of Marco Polo, who wrote “concerning the city of Esher, Esher is a great city * * 400 miles distant from the Port of Aden. It has a king, who is subject to the Soldan of Aden. He has a number of towns and villages under him and administers his territory well and justly. The people are Saracens. The place has a very good haven, wherefore many ships from India come thither with various cargoes; and they export many good chargers thence to India. A great deal of white

incense grows in this country and brings in a great revenue to the Prince, &c. &c.” (Chap. XXXVII., Book III., Vol. 2, Colonel Yule’s Edition of Marco Polo).

The following information is extracted from Colonel Yule’s notes :

Shihr, or Shehr, with the article Es-Shehr, still exists on the Arabian Coast as a town and district about 330 miles east of Aden. * * The hills of the Sheor and Dhafár districts were the great source of produce of the Arabian frankincense. (*Vide* pp. 378, 379, Yule’s Marco Polo.)

In modern times the port of Makalla appears to have superseded el-Shihr, and the sources of wealth of that port of Arabia have become exhausted.

¹² (p. 113.) Mahrah-bin Heidán, from whom the district Mahra was named. The full pedigree is not given, Mahrah being of the 15th generation from Kahtán. The following notices are translated from Dr. Wüstenfeld’s Register. “Some say Mahra-bin Heidán “belongs to the branch Ma’add-bin ‘Adnán, others to Codhá’a. The family, after “separation, settled in the coast line of el-Shihr between Yemen and ‘Omán, and retained “the old Himyaric language. The celebrated Mahari camels derive their name from Mahra.”

The district of Mahra was at one period in a measure under the power of the Imáms of ‘Omán. The language is said to be still peculiar to its inhabitants. It is to be remarked that the settlement of Mahra-bin Heidán at el-Shihr was probably earlier than the period of Málík-bin Fahm.

¹³ (p. 113.) The king Dárá, son of Dárá. An obvious anachronism. The period of younger Darius was about 337 B. C. As from about 300 B. C. to 220 A. D. Persia was under the kings of the Ashkánian dynasty, or the Arsacides, one of that line must have been in power at the time of Málík-bin Fahm.

¹⁴ (p. 113.) Marzabán. A Persian word meaning a governor of an outlying province, or “Margrave.”

¹⁵ (p. 113.) Kálhát. This town was visited by Marco Polo towards the end of the 13th century, who wrote concerning it—“Calatu is a great city, within a gulf which bears “the name of the Gulf of Calatu. It is a noble city * * The people are Saracens, and “are subject to Hormos. And whenever the Melik of Hormos is at war with some prince “more potent than himself, he betakes himself to this city of Calatu, because it is very “strong, both from its position and its fortifications. * * * They also export many “good Arab horses from this to India. For as I have told you before the number of “horses exported from this and the other cities to India is something astonishing.” * * * “The city of Kálhát, says Ibn Baṭúṭá, stands on the sea-shore. It has fine “bazars and one of the most beautiful mosques that you could see any where, the walls of “which are covered with enamelled tiles of Káshán. * * * Most of them (inhabi- “tants) are Schismatics, but they cannot openly practise their tenets, for they are under “the rule of Sultan Tehemten, Malik of Hormuz, who is orthodox. * * There was “still a horse trade at Kalhat in 1517.” * * (Travels of Marco Polo, Col. Yule’s edition, pp. 381, 282, Vol. 2.)

Ibn Baṭúṭá wrote in 1328. In modern times, Kálhát is an insignificant place, but extensive ruins are traced. The Schismatics alluded to by Ibn Baṭúṭá were doubtless Ibádhís, then the prevailing sect in ‘Omán. The author of the “Keshf ul-Ghummeh” mentions the rule of Malik of Hormuz as will be seen. In modern times scarcely any horses are produced in ‘Omán, except for the Sultán’s private stable.

¹⁶ (p. 113.) El-Jowf. A term which was applied to the central valley region from ‘Omán proper to el-Dháhireh. Mr. Badger identifies el-Jow and el-Jowf, but this is erroneous.

¹⁷ (p. 114.) The account of the battle has been abridged in translating.

¹⁸ (p. 115.) Aqueducts. In the Arabic "felej." They are subterraneous artificial channels, similar in all respects to the "Kanáts" or "Kárizes" of Persia and neighbouring countries. Probably the system was introduced into 'Omán by Persians.

¹⁹ (p. 116.) The families here enumerated are all Azdite, and the pedigrees are correctly given. The mention of 'Armán-bin 'Amr-bin el-Azd amongst the contemporaries of Málik-bin Fahm must be an anachronism, the former personage having been in the 10th line of descent only from Kahtán. The Yahmadí family of 'Omán derive, I take it, from el-Yahmad-bin Hommá. It is more than doubtful whether so many famous Yemenite families settled in 'Omán, as stated by the author.

²⁰ (p. 116.) The el-Azd named it 'Omán, &c. The name is also by some asserted to be derived from a son of Kahtán, named 'Omán. According to this version, when Ya'rub-bin Kahtán established the Yemenite Empire, he conferred the government of two Provinces on his brothers 'Omán and Hadhramowt, and the Provinces were thereafter so named. These two personages are, however, usually thought mythical.

The country might have been named by Arabians from the root *عوم* 'Omán, which has a sense of tarrying or abiding.

²¹ (p. 116.) The Persians called it 'Mazún.' This statement is borne out by other authorities.

²² (p. 116.) Sámah-bin Loweij.

This name may be noted as the first mentioned of the Ishmailite branch. Sámah belonged to the famous Koreysh family and was of the 14th generation from 'Adnán. The following notice of him is translated from Dr. Wüstenfeld's Index. "Sáma-bin Loweij "on account of a quarrel with his brother 'Amir abandoned the 'Heimath' and journeyed "towards 'Omán. In Jowf el-Hamila his camel fell over an 'Arfaja tree (a thorny shrub), "in which a snake had concealed itself. The snake struck at his leg and bit him so that "he died. His descendants who were called after his mother "Bení-Nájiya," dwelt in " 'Omán in the hamlet of el-Towám." A portion ultimately settled themselves in Basra, where the Quarter Sáma is named after him.

²³ (p. 116.) El-Jow is the name of the district immediately surrounding Bereymí.

²⁴ (p. 116.) As Asd-bin 'Imrán was Azdite, this was an intermarriage between the great rival stocks.

²⁵ (p. 116.) El-Sirr. This name has been variously applied. Sometimes it has designated the Western coastline of 'Omán. As here used, its site was apparently somewhere between Bereymí and the modern Abú-Dhebí.

²⁶ (p. 116.) Benú-Rúáheh. There is a strong clan so called now in 'Omán.

²⁷ (p. 116.) Nizár. From Nizár-bin Ma'add-bin 'Adnán.

²⁸ (p. 116.) Málik-bin Zoheir. This person was not of the Azdite stock, but was of the tribe el-Tanúkh whom he led from Nejd to el-Hirá in 'Iráq.

²⁹ (p. 117) "The historian Hamza relates that Málik-bin Fahm was accidentally slain "by his son Suleimah, who thereupon fled into 'Omán, where he left a large progeny, "which existed a long time after the rise of Islám." Imáms and Seyyids of 'Omán, Intro., p. VII.

Also "Salímah-bin Málik shot his father by accident in the darkness, who had himself instructed him in the use of the bow." *Reiske, Hist. Arab., p. 12.* [Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen, Dr. Wüstenfeld, p. 408].

The Arabic couplet is a favorite quotation in allusion to ingratitude—

"I taught him archery day by day : when his arm grew strong, he shot me."

³⁰ (p. 117.) His adventures are omitted in translation.

³¹ (p. 118.) El-Mustatir meaning “the wary.” The descendants of this el-Julandá, who was an Azdite, appear to have assumed the name Benú-Julandá. It is said that each one who became king in ‘Omán, took the name of Julandá.

[*Vide* Imáms and Seyyids of ‘Omán, p. 7].

³² (p. 118.) The commencement of the Sassanian dynasty was A. D. 220; it terminated with the Mohammedan conquest.

³³ (p. 118). This Book serves as an introduction to the subsequent narrative. The author must have been at considerable pains to collect his materials judging from the paucity of books now in ‘Omán. The more ancient Arab historical works are chiefly accounts of famous tribes or families, and the genealogies of important personages are very minutely traced. The science of genealogy was highly elaborate. There were ten recognized gradations of communities, from the “people” as a whole down to the “family” of less than ten persons. The terms used to describe those various classes are analogous to our words, “race,” “nation,” “tribe,” “elan,” “kin,” “family.” But the shades of gradation are more minutely given in Arabic than English can describe. The term “*Ḳabíleh*,” answering to our “tribe” or “elan” was fourth in the Arab classification. In modern times Arabs have ceased to preserve their pedigrees, and in ‘Omán the people know little of their origin.

Summarized, the events related in this book are as follows. Yemenite Arabs chiefly Azdite arrive in ‘Omán and drive out the Persians, who were previously in possession of the whole province. Thenceforward, for a considerable time, the Azdites were sole masters and their chiefs ruled supreme. Later, however, the Persians regained a footing, and at the time of the introduction of Mohammedanism, a Persian deputy was residing in ‘Omán, and was subsequently expelled by the Azdite tribes under the descendants of el-Julandá.

‘Omán and Bahrain were included in the conquests of the Persian Monarch Khosrú Parwíz at the end of the 6th century.

Notes to Book II,

¹ (p. 118.) Book or Chapter 33 of the “*Keshf ul-Ghummeh*.”

² (p. 118.) The subjugation of ‘Omán by the Persians in the time of the Julandáites appears to have been only temporary or partial, as at the commencement of the Mohammedan Era the Julandáites ‘Abd and Jeifar were undoubtedly in power. When the remnant of the Persians were expelled, ‘Omán did not, however, become an independent kingdom. Its princes embraced the religion of Islám in the time of Mohammed, whose paramount authority they acknowledged. Thenceforward until about 751 A. D., ‘Omán was nominally under the Khalífeh's and immediately controlled by the governors of ‘Irák.

Before the success of Mohammed in ‘Omán it is mentioned that one Abú-Basír-bin Asíd or ‘Otbá had retired to the coast of ‘Omán [*síf el-bahr*], and collected round him there those who in Mekka had embraced the new Faith, but they were unable to maintain themselves, and their numbers gradually decreased to 62 or 70. [*Nawáwí*.]

³ (p. 118.) Dabá. There is a small town now named Dibbá, north of Sohár. There appears to have been also a place named Dabá between Bahrain and ‘Omán, where el-Atík-bin el-Asd settled after the emigration from Máreb. Hence the family called Azd-Dabá. [*Wüstenfeld*, Index.]

⁴ (p. 119.) Abú-Bekr succeeded Mohammed, and was Khalífeh from A. D. 632 to 634. On his accession rebellions occurred in several provinces, ‘Omán amongst the number. An expedition was despatched to ‘Omán and Yemen under ‘Ikrimah-bin Abú-Jahl, who

assisted by the Julandáites 'Abd and Jeifar and other Azdites, succeeded in quelling the rebellion. In a great battle fought at Dabá (*vide* note 3), ten thousand rebels fell, and many were carried into captivity. It is stated that 'Othmán-bin Abul-Ásí was appointed governor of 'Omán and el-Bahrain by Abú-Bekr, and that he defeated and slew a Persian commander named Zohrák at Towwaj. In Mr. Badger's Introduction to the 'Imáms and Sayyids of 'Omán, when these events are summarized, it is stated that 'Othmán was appointed by 'Omar (the successor of Abú-Bekr). For incidental notices of the history of 'Omán at this period many Arabian authors may be consulted, amongst them Nawáwí, Ibn-Sa'd, Ibn-Koteiba, Beládzorí, Abú-Ja'far's *Tárikh-el Mulúk*.

⁵ (p. 119.) The Nizáriyeh as opposed to the Yemenites. For explanation of the term *vide* Note²⁷ to Book I.

⁶ (p. 120.) *The Desert Country*. It may also be read "within three days' mareh" of "el-Balka'ah." The latter word, however, means waste, uninhabited land. Probably the country west of Bereymí is meant.

⁷ (p. 120.) Maskat. In this part of the "Keshf ul-Ghummeh" the name is spelt *كَمَسَا*, whilst in later books it is spelt *مَكْسَا* (maskad).

⁸ (p. 120.) Julfár. The Persian name for the town on the site of the modern Rás-el-Kheimah.

⁹ (p. 120.) Zenj. The inhabitants of the East African Coast. Mr. Badger thinks this the most reliable record we possess of the first emigration of Arabs of 'Omán to the east coast of Africa.

¹⁰ (p. 121.) This appointment of a native of 'Omán to the governorship appears to have led to the assertion of independence soon after.

¹¹ (p. 121) The Ibádhiyeh. This is the first mention of the remarkable Ibádhí sect, which has from this time forward exercised so powerful an influence in 'Omán, and which appears already at this early period to have become predominant there. The sect takes its name from 'Abdullah-bin Ibádh, who flourished according to the author of the "Keshf ul-Ghummeh" about A. D. 685-705, but, according to the other works quoted by Badger, A. D. 744-749. The sect is undoubtedly an off-shoot of the Khárijite schism. In the year 657 A. D., a large number of the Caliph 'Alí's followers revolted from him, and these received the appellation of "Khawárij," *i. e.* schismatics, or heretics, who went forth from the true faith. In the following year, the Khárijites to the number of 4000 were attacked and cut to pieces by 'Alí. Nine only escaped, of whom two reached 'Omán, where they became apparently successful propagandists of the Khárijite doctrines, the most important perhaps of which consisted in the positive rejection of the Caliphs or Imáms 'Othmán and 'Alí, and the assertion of the right to elect and depose their Imáms. In this and other fundamental points 'Abdullah-bin Ibádh simply followed the Khárijites. It seems probable that the people of 'Omán were imbued with these views before the time of 'Abdullah-bin Ibádh, and were thus prepared beforehand to accept his teaching. In what manner the latter was propagated does not appear. The Ibádhí doctrine as to the Imáms may be roughly contrasted with that of the Sunnites and Shí'ahs as follows:

1. *Sunnites* accept the four successors of the prophet as true Khalífes, or Imáms, and the generally acknowledged representatives known to the present day, when they recognize the Sultán of Turkey as head of the orthodox.

2. *Shí'ahs* absolutely reject all claims to the Imámate other than those of 'Alí and his descendants. At the present time they acknowledge no visible Imám.

3. *Ibádhís* reject 'Othmán and 'Alí and curse them as infidels. They assert the right of true believing Muslims (themselves that is) to elect their Imáms, and to depose them for transgressions. The persons successively elected to their Imáms by the Ibádhís

have also usually been temporal rulers in 'Omán. They were styled "Imám of the Musalmáns," not "Imám of 'Omán." It is to be noted that it is not considered indispensable by the Ibádhís to have an Imám at all. An account of the sect is given by Mr. Badger in his work "Imáms and Seyyids of 'Omán." The "Keshful-Ghummeh" also supplies some information about it, which has been submitted to Government in a previous paper, regarding which *vide* Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, for January, 1873, pp. 2 to 10. In the same work may be found some of the correspondence of 'Abdullah-bin Ibádh.

¹² (p. 121.) The first of the Imáms probably.

¹³ (p. 121.) Musalmáns, *i. e.* Ibádhís.

¹⁴ (p. 122.) You are my Imám, go before (amám) me.

¹⁵ (p. 123.) For meaning of el-Shárí, *see* Note 13 to Book III.

¹⁶ (p. 123.) Wádí Hattá is a valley north-west of Sohár.

¹⁷ (p. 124.) Bowárih. According to Mr. Badger, "Bowárij," or war-vessels.

¹⁸ (p. 124.) Eastern districts, or el-Sharkíyeh. Similarly, the western part of 'Omán is occasionally distinguished as el-Gharbíyeh," or el-Gharb." The divisions of the whole Province commonly used by the people of 'Omán are, 1, "'Omán proper," limited to the central region. 2, "*el-Sharkíyeh*," eastern districts, including *Ja'lán*. 3, *el-Báṭineh*, the plain situated between the mountains and the sea north of Maskat. 4, *El-Dháhireh* including el-Jow, the tract beyond the hills extending from 'Omán to el-Bereymí. 5, *el-Shemál*, the north and west. 6, lastly there are the hill tracts and Wádís not comprised in any of the preceding divisions. The former between el-Báṭineh and el-Dháhireh are called in plural el-hujúr, sing. hejer-el-Báṭineh, hejer-el-Dháhireh. Each Wádí has its distinctive name, sometimes taken from the tribe inhabiting it.

¹⁹ (p. 125.) Accordingly his reign commenced A. D. 808.

²⁰ (p. 126.) He retained the spiritual office whilst deprived of the temporal power.

²¹ (p. 126.) Mahrah appears from this to have acknowledged the Imám Muhenná, but the authority of the 'Omán rulers over that district must have been very precarious.

²² (p. 128.) Fark is a village a few miles south of Nezwá.

Notes to Book III.

¹ (p. 129.) Izkí, or Azká, now vulgarly named Zikkí.

² (p. 129.) El-Nizár. At Zikkí there are two resident families or tribes representing the great rival branches. These families are still called Yemen and Nizár. The attack here described would at the present day be called an attack by the Gháfírís upon the Hináwís.

³ (p. 129.) El-Madharíyeh, a term synonymous with Nizáríyeh, being derived from Madhar-bin Nizár-bin Ma'ád-bin 'Adnán.

⁴ (p. 129.) El-Haddán. That is in the mountains between el-Báṭineh and el-Dháhireh.

⁵ (p. 129.) El-Jow. The district about the modern el-Bereymí.

⁶ (p. 129.) Sohár was and still is one of the towns where the Imám could perform Friday's divine service.

⁷ (p. 130.) Benú-Hináh. The name of this clan became celebrated in 'Omán, and gave its name to the whole Yemenite party in later times. Badger refers the origin of this tribe to Hana or Hina-bin 'Amr-bin el-Ghauth-bin Ṭai-bin 'Odád, a descendant of Kahlán. According to this genealogy, the Benú Hináh, though Kahtánite and Yemenite, were not of the Azdite stock. I am inclined to think the forefather of the Hinái tribe of

'Omán is to be sought amongst the descendants of el-Azd. Amongst the immediate progeny of el-Azd, we find the name el-Hinw, and in the next generation el-Haun. Again, one of the sons of Málík-bin Fahm was named Honáa, or Honát, or perhaps Hináh. There is on other grounds much reason to believe that the Benú-Hináh are an Azdite clan.

⁸ (p. 130.) Mohammed-bin Núr. This name is still a by-word in 'Omán. From the detestation in which this person was held, he was dubbed Mohammed-bin "Bár," instead of "Núr," the former word bearing an evil signification.

⁹ (p. 130.) The Caliph el-Mo'tadhid-billah reigned from A. D. 892 to 902.

¹⁰ (p. 130.) Himyarite, another term for the Yemenites, &c.

¹¹ (p. 131.) Kōrān, Chap. XIII.

¹² (p. 132.) The Mihráb is the place in a mosque where the priest prays with his face towards Mecca.

¹³ (p. 132.) As a "Shá'í" Imám. This means that the Imám had vowed on assuming office to sacrifice life rather than yield or fly in battle with the enemies of the Faith. Those not so bound were termed Dafi'í Imáms. *Vide* note 28 to Book IV.

¹⁴ (p. 133.) As a Dáfi'í. See preceding note.

¹⁵ (p. 133.) Sultán of Baghdád, *i. e.* the Caliph. The Ibádhís would grudge him the title of Caliph.

¹⁶ (p. 133.) The Kārámīṭah, or Karmatians, a sect very inimical to the Mohammedans. They turned the precepts of the Kōrān into allegory. They caused great disturbance, and under Abú-Dhāhir took Mecca (*vide* Sale's Koran, p. 130).

¹⁷ (p. 133.) Abú Sa'íd. De Saey styles him "Abou-Saïd Hasan, fils de Behram, surnommé Djénabi, parce qu'il était de Djenaba." Abulfeda says, Junnábah (or, as Ibn Khallikán writes it, Jannábah), is a small town of el-Bahrein, from whence sprang Abú-Sa'íd el-Junnáby, the libertine, the Kármuty, who attacked the Hijj and killed many of them. Imáms and Seyyids of 'Omán, p. 28, note 1.

¹⁸ (p. 133.) Probably the creditors would object to his devoting himself to death until their claims were satisfied.

Notes to Book IV.

¹ (p. 134.) Mr. Badger's author, Salil-bin Razík, has the following statement here—"Ibn Káisar says: I have not been able to find the date when allegiance was given to him [Sa'íd-bin 'Abdullah], nor how long he retained the Imámate." I have not been able to discover who Ibn Káisar is, but Salil-bin Razík's quotations appear to be from the "Keshf ul-Ghummeh." I once questioned Salil-bin Razík concerning the authorship of the "Keshful-Ghummeh," but he was then very feeble from age, and could not inform me.

² (p. 134.) *Vide* note 13, Book III. Mr. Badger has in his work—"This appointment also was made in spite of much opposition."

³ (p. 134.) That is, the Ibadhí faith.

⁴ (p. 136.) I am sorry I cannot make the preceding account more clear, the original is very obscure.

⁵ (p. 136.) Saluted him as Imám. That is, recognized the fact of his election without positively swearing fealty.

⁶ (p. 136.) Sadakat, *voluntary* poor-rate.

⁷ (p. 137.) As Sultán. The term means probably as temporal ruler, and was not used as a title. That of Imám would include the other.

⁸ (p. 137.) What follows is inconsistent with the previous statements, but such inconsistencies abound in most Arabic writings.

⁹ (p. 137.) The quotation is from a religious work. It is one of the verses alleged by the Shí'ahs to have been abstracted from the original *Ḳorán* and suppressed. They take it to point to the oppressors of 'Alí and his descendants.

¹⁰ (p. 138.) Kadam. Between Bahlá and el-Homrá.

¹¹ (p. 138.) Wádí el-Nakhr. About 2 hours west of el-Homrá.

¹² (p. 138.) Takíyeh.

¹³ (p. 139.) The history of this period is confused and defective, probably because the standard Arabian works contain no accounts of this portion of 'Omán history. Henceforward the Caliphs seem to have lost their hold on 'Omán.

¹⁴ (p. 140.) The dates are confused and unreliable, and several of the Imáms are, as will be observed, introduced out of their chronological order.

¹⁵ (p. 140.) The year is not stated.

¹⁶ (p. 140.) That is, from Mohammed-bin Khanbash to Málík-bin el-Hawárí, from A. D. 1162 to A. D. 1406.

¹⁷ (p. 140.) The government of at least a portion of 'Omán had fallen after the time of Mohammed-bin Khanbash into the hands of the Benú-Nebhán, who were descended from another stock than the Azdites, though also *Ḳahtān*ite. Their progenitor appears to have been Nebhán-bin 'Amr-bin el-Ghauth-bin Ṭaī. The Princes of this family were never elected to the religious office of Imám, but were called "Málíks," or Lords. They were strongest in el-Dháhireh, and probably none of them reigned supreme over entire 'Omán. Their power lasted more or less to A. D. 1617, or for nearly 500 years. At the present day, no clan of 'Omán is poorer or more despised than the Nebáheneh.

¹⁸ (p. 140.) At that period Abáká Khán, son of Hulágú Khán, was monarch of Persia.

¹⁹ (p. 140.) *Ḳalhát*, *vide* note 5, Book I.

²⁰ (p. 141.) Dhafár. Marco Polo says of Dhafar—"Dufar is a great and noble and fine city. * * * The people are Saracens and have a Count for their chief who is subject to the Soldan of Aden * * * Much white incense is produced here, and I will tell you how it grows. The trees are like small fir trees; these are notched with a knife in several places, and from these notches the incense is exuded. Sometimes also it flows from the tree without any notch; this is by reason of the great heat of the sun there. * * * This Dhafár is supposed to be the Sephar of Genesis, x. 30." [Colonel Yule's Marco Polo, pp. 379-80, Vol. II.]

²¹ (p. 141.) Dínár. A gold coin weighing $71\frac{1}{2}$ barley-corns [Lane].

²² (p. 141.) Owlád el-Reís, or the Ríáyeseh, a tribe inhabiting a district west of Sohár.

²³ (p. 141.) The Málík or Lord.

²⁴ (p. 141.) Seyyid. This term, here occurring for the first time, means Prince or Lord or Master or Noble. In 'Omán it is prefixed to noble names as a "handle." At the present time, the Ruler of 'Omán is styled the Seyyid "par excellence."

²⁵ (p. 141.) See note 17.

²⁶ (p. 141.) According to Badger, an Azdite.

²⁷ (p. 141.) According to Badger, also an Azdite of the el-Yahmad.

²⁸ (p. 141.) The term employed is el-Shurát, which was applied to the *Khárijite* schismatics, because they said, "We have sold ourselves in obedience to God for Paradise when we separated ourselves from the erring Imáms." [Lane's Lex., Art. شري]. The singular "Shárí," we have seen applied in a peculiar sense to the Imáms, *vide* note 13 to Book III.

²⁹ (p. 142.) The priest el-Khaleylí, the Imám 'Azzán's Samuel in later days, when wishing to perpetrate a similar spoliation, appealed to this period of 'Omán history as precedent and justification.

³⁰ (p. 142.) *Ḳorán*, Chap. II.

³¹ (p. 143.) At Nezwá.

³² (p. 143.) It must have been during the reign of Mohammed-bin Ismá'íl that the Portuguese under Alfonso di Albuquerque captured the sea-port towns of 'Omán. Maskat was taken in A.D. 1508. There is no mention of the advent of the Portuguese in "Keshf ul-Ghummeḥ"

³³ (p. 143.) "Zekát" and "Sadaḳat" are both terms denoting religious alms. The former however is obligatory.

³⁴ (p. 144.) Jezíyah, or capitation tax.

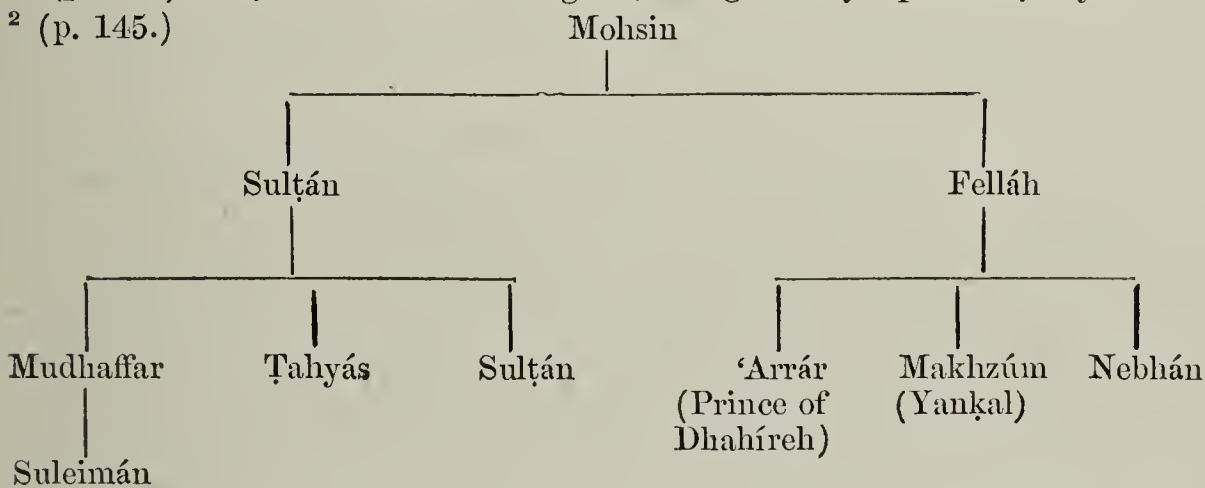
³⁵ (p. 144.) The sentiments are in accordance with modern enlightenment. In the East, under native rulers, such principles are seldom acted on.

³⁶ (p. 144.) Kharáj, or land tax.

Notes to Book V.

¹ (p. 144.) Maḳínát. So in the original, but generally spelt Maḳaníyát.

² (p. 145.)



³ (p. 146) Or Bilád-Seyt.

⁴ (p. 146.) The narrative is very involved.

⁵ (p. 146.) Amír. The term was employed in 'Omán in some cases to denote the chief of a powerful clan.

⁶ (p. 148.) The clans of 'Omán, when "on the war path," march with drums beating and banners flying.

⁷ (p. 149.) The original is very obscure.

⁸ (p. 151.) Doubtless a Portuguese vessel. The author seems to avoid mention of the conquests of the Portuguese in 'Omán as much as possible. It would appear, however, that at this period the Portuguese had not possession of Sohár.

Notes to Book VI.

¹ (p. 154.) "The true sect," *i. e.* Ibádhí.

² (p. 154.) Any one who has had much to do with 'Omán politics must allow that there are several true points in this description of the native character.

³ (p. 155.) "Bedú" and "Hadhr." The Bedú, or Bedouins, are the pastoral Arabs inhabiting the great plains, and partly nomadic. The Hadhr are the dwellers in towns and villages and cultivated lands, the fixed, working, or agricultural population. The Bedú exercise much influence in 'Omán.

⁴ (p. 155.) Násir-bin Murshid appears to have been the first Imám of the Ya'rabí family.

⁵ (p. 155.) Now called Al-bú-Sa'íd. The family of the present Seyyids.

⁶ (p. 156.) The Benú-Riyám inhabit the Green Mountains, "Jebel el-Akhdhar." Mr. Badger considers them of Mahrah origin. At present they belong to the Gháfirí division.

⁷ (p. 157.) Mr. Badger says—"The Benú Hilál I take to be descendants of Hilál, one of the four sons of Amir-bin Sa'asa'ah (born about A. D. 381), a descendant of Ma'add and Adnán, &c." (Imáms and Seyyids of 'Omán.)

⁸ (p. 157.) 'Ibrí or 'Obrí. A town in el-Dháhíreh, which was visited by Wellsted, and where he had a bad reception. There is also a tribe or clan, named el-'Ibríín. Whether the clan takes its name from the place or *vice versá*, I cannot say. The root of the name is the same as that of Heber, from which "Hebrew." The signification is "on the other side." The Latin form of the same word is Iber (Iberes, Iberian), equivalent to trans-ultra, &c. (Types of Mankind.)

⁹ (p. 159.) The Portuguese.

¹⁰ (p. 160.) El-Rúleh. The banyan tree, *Ficus Indica*.

¹¹ (p. 160.) Shi'áhs. Probably Persians.

¹² (p. 160.) El-Sír to be distinguished from el-Sirr, was another name for Julfár, now Rás el-Kheimah.

¹³ (p. 161.) El-Efrenj, or Franks, meaning Portuguese, no doubt.

¹⁴ (p. 161.) The narrative here suddenly terminates, but we may assume the attack on Sohár failed.

¹⁵ (p. 161.) About 20 miles from Maskat, noted for its hot mineral springs.

¹⁶ (p. 162.) El-Ahsá. A district of Nejd, called vulgarly Lahsá.

¹⁷ (p. 162.) Benú-Lám. The "Benú-Lám" are a branch of the great Tai tribe, and therefore of Kahtánie origin through Kahlán; for Lám, born about A. D. 470, was the descendant of Tai, the descendant of 'Odád, the descendant of Kahlán (Badger's Seyyids of 'Omán, p. 67 note). Until subjugated by the Wahhábís, the Benú-Khálid were the most prominent tribe on the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf. (Ibid.)

¹⁸ (p. 163.) The term used is el-Shurát, *vide* note 28, Book IV.

¹⁹ (p. 164.) In Badger's work, the date is A. H. 1059, or A. D. 1649.

²⁰ (p. 164.) No details of the capture of Maskat are given, but Mr. Badger's author has a long and detailed account of the matter, derived apparently from the popular legends. One story current is that the Arabs entered Maskat in the guise of peaceful peasants, hiding their arms in bundles of fire wood, and that they took the opportunity of the Portuguese garrison being assembled without arms at chapel to attack and massacre them. The Portuguese residence, or Factory home, is called by the Arabs el-Jereza (جرزة, for Igreja, or church). Mr. Badger has mistaken the word for Jezírah or "Island," which it closely resembles in the Arabic.

Sultán-bin Seyf commenced to reign A. D. 1640, and died on 4th October, 1680.

The date of the Portuguese expulsion is stated by European authorities 1650 or 1658. The present work does not enable us to fix it more accurately.

"In anno 1715, the Arabian fleet [meaning the Imam's] consisted of one ship of "74 guns, two of 60, one of 50, and 18 small ships from 32 to 12 guns each, and some "Trankies, or rowing vessels, from 4 to 8 guns each, with which sea-forces they keep all "the sea coasts from Cape Comorin to the Red Sea. They have often made "descents on the Portuguese Colonies on the coast of India, destroying their villages and "farms, but spare the churches for better reasons than we can give for plundering them.

“They kill none in cold blood, but use their captives courteously. In anno 1695, they quarrelled with the Carnatick Rajah, a potent Princely lord. Yet they came with their fleet and plundered and burned the towns of Barsalore and Mangalore, two of the best and richest towns on that Coast.”

[The above is from Captain Alexander Hamilton's 'New Account of the East Indies.' He travelled from 1688 to 1723, and is therefore a valuable authority for this period.]

^{2 1} (p. 165.) Jezíret el-Khadhrá, or Pemba.

Notes to Book VII.

¹ (p. 168.) Body of horsemen. The term used is 'saríyeh,' which means a party of from five to three hundred or four hundred.

² (p. 168.) Sáhib el-'Anbúr. A title or a nick-name. 'Anbúr in 'Omán sometimes means a purse.

³ (p. 169.) Kōrán XXIX, 1, Sale's translation,

⁴ (p. 169.) Benú-Gháfír. The origin of the appellation of this tribe seems unknown, but they are undoubtedly Ishmaelite or 'Adnánite, and were therefore naturally opposed to the Yemenites or Kāhtānites. As will be seen further on, under their able and brave chief, Mohammed-bin Násir, this clan became renowned and powerful in 'Omán. This chief headed the faction against their rivals the Yemenites, who also found a skilful and courageous leader in Khalf-bin Mubárik, the Dwarf, chief of the Benú-Hináh. This civil war was one of the fiercest recorded in the annals of 'Omán, a great number of the clans ranging themselves under their respective leaders, declaring either for the "Hinái" or "Gháfírí." Those faction terms have survived to the present day, and almost entirely supersede the older classifications, the rival factions being now termed el-Hináwíyeh and el-Gháfíríyeh. This is the explanation of the undue pre-eminence assigned by European writers on 'Omán to these two tribes, whose importance was accidental and temporary. For a time the Gháfírís gained the day, and their chief became Imám, but the Hináwís soon regained the ascendancy. At present, the power of the two sections is tolerably evenly balanced, the Gháfírís preponderating in the West and their rivals in the East. It is to be noticed that at the present day the fact of a clan styling itself of the Hináwí or the Gháfírí faction does not necessarily prove its origin to be Kāhtānite, or Ishmaelite; for several Yemen tribes have ranged themselves with the Nejdites and *vice versa*. This fact occasions additional difficulty in tracing tribal genealogies.

⁵ (p. 169.) See Note 1.

⁶ (p. 170.) The names Yemen and Nizár here apply to rival *families* so called, not to factions.

⁷ (p. 172.) Kōrán, XIII, 12.

⁸ (p. 172.) Birkeh. This name is sometimes written so and sometimes Barká. In the Kámús it appears as "Birket el-Rameys?"

⁹ (p. 172.) "*Did not understand Arabic.*" Probably these were some of the people inhabiting the Ruús el-Jebel from Cape Mussendom. Southward the inhabitants of that locality differ in appearance from the other Arabs and speak a different dialect. Some, from their reddish skins and light eyes, have conceived them to have an admixture of European blood. On examination their language will probably be found to be a Himyarite dialect. They may be descendants of a Himyarite people who inhabited 'Omán before the inflow of Yemenites and others. They are named el-Shehúh or el-Shihíyín.

Cape Mussendom has been identified with "the promontory of the Asabi" of Ptolemy (by Forster), and the Asabi or Sabi with the Seba or Sebam of Scripture. In accordance with this theory, this part of 'Omán was originally the seat of Cushite colonies,

in witness of which are adduced the names "Cúscan" (Cushan of Hebrew writers), [probably meaning Khasam] and a littoral termed by Pliny "the shore of Ham," "Litus Hammeum," now Maham, (?), adjacent to which is a "Wádí Ham," "Valley of Ham" (Types of Mankind). Again: "Ramss, an Arab port, just inside the Persian Gulf, perfectly answers to the sites of Raamah, catalogued among Kushite personifications in xth Genesis (*ibid.*)."

¹⁰ (p. 173.) About six miles from Barká.

¹¹ (p. 174.) The prisoners were sometimes placed in exposed situations during a siege or battle to slacken the enemies' fire.

¹² (p. 176.) Al-Wahíbeh. A numerous, powerful, and warlike Bedouin clan of Sharkíyeh.

¹³ (p. 176.) "*The Benú-Menáh and their allies*" would be more accurate, but at this period the term Hinái began to be used in its modern extended sense.

¹⁴ (p. 177.) The el-Harth is the richest of the Hináwí tribes of the eastern districts. Many of this family inhabit Zanzibar.

¹⁵ (p. 177.) El-Na'ím. The dominant tribe of el-Jow and Bereymí.

¹⁶ (p. 179.) Maghribí meaning Nejdean.

¹⁷ (p. 179.) Tenúf. A town of the Green Mountain.

¹⁸ (p. 183.) A Mohammedí is about three pence.

¹⁹ (p. 183.) The election of Mohammed-bin Násir to be Imám was evidently a forced measure and adopted only because of the great power he wielded as a warrior and ruler. His military genius seems to have surpassed that of any previous Imám or governor of 'Omán, and he had well nigh become by sheer talent and energy supreme over all 'Omán.

The restless energy of this Prince was imitated, for a time with much success, by the late 'Azzán bin-Ḳais.

